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THE DISMISSAL of Ewing Y. Mitchell as Assistant Secretary of Commerce threatens the Roosevelt Administration with serious scandal for the first time. Mr Mitchell is not to be lightly disregarded. A picturesque personality, who satisfies the American tradition in having risen to high position after having been a Senate page boy and studying law in night school, he is at least a man to take seriously. He accepted his position promising Secretary Roper not "to approve of any contract which will cost the government a single unnecessary dollar, or to approve the appointment of a single person not qualified for and worthy of the place," and he warned him he would get him into trouble. Obviously he spent much time at the department complaining about inefficiency and dishonesty. Finally the President asked for his resignation; he refused to tender it and was removed. The President is put in the awkward position of defending Secretary Roper, the weakest man in the Cabinet, and of ousting a man whose offense, if any, is having displayed too much zeal in cleaning up an important department of government. The motives behind the dismissal are two-fold. Trouble-makers either have to be removed or they have to prove their indictments. Mr. Mitchell was given a chance to report his observations to the Department of Justice, and as he has been thrown out and the Department of Commerce remains unscathed he could not have produced evidence for criminal prosecution. But that will not whitewash the department. The other motive was Mitchell's opposition to the Pendergast machine in his home state of Missouri. The machine was out "to get him" and knew it had succeeded, even before the correspondence about resignation passed between him and the President.

THE PRESIDENT feels the sting of the hornet in Mr. Mitchell's accusation that the contract for laying up the Leviathan was made at his own direction. "This is a plain attempt," Mr. Mitchell wrote him on May 30, "to make a gift of government funds without any consideration whatever to those interested in the company, prominent among whom are P. A. S. Franklin, John N. Franklin, Vincent Astor, and Kermit Roosevelt. I fear that your approval of this contract, if you did approve it, must have been obtained through misrepresentation or the withholding from you of vital information." The Leviathan was to have been operated five years, for which the United States Lines Company was paid a subsidy of $3,000,000. The company laid the ship up and should have paid back part of the subsidy. Instead, the government made a contract waiving $1,720,000 of indemnity, apparently on the ground that the company was going to build a smaller ship. But as the ship had to be built if a valuable mail contract was not to be lost, and as it could not be built if the company did not borrow $7,000,000, presumably from the government, the acting comptroller general criticized the contract in clear terms. According to Mitchell, who bases his charge on a memorandum of Director Peacock of the Shipping Board, the contract was then made by direction of the President himself. Just as this charge is ventilated the whole scandal of ship subsidies comes before Congress, (we discuss it at length on a later page) and the President is in a predicament because he cannot find anyone to fight the shipping interests for his program of open as against concealed subsidies. It is at least unfortunate that he should now have to justify a contract benefiting his friend Vincent Astor, or confess that he has been misinformed and have to repudiate it.

RUMORS are beginning to be heard that Mussolini is willing to settle with Abyssinia without recourse to war. The reasons advanced for this sudden change of heart are at least plausible. Recent developments at Geneva have indicated that open hostilities can not be resorted to without a break with the League, a step which is particularly distasteful in view of the present European situation. While the report of an agreement between Abyssinia and the Egyptian government regarding the development of an irrigation project at Lake Tsana appears to have been premature, British public opinion—conservative as well as liberal—has definitely swung against Italy, and has not been appeased by Mussolini's attack on British imperialism. Furthermore, there is growing evidence of discontent and opposition to the war preparations within Italy. Letters received in this

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country from relatives in Italy tell of anti-war demonstrations and rioting in cities and villages throughout the entire peninsula. The recent action of the Italian government barring the New York *Times* because of an editorial hinting that Mussolini might be overthrown, together with the expulsion of David Darrah, correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune*, also suggests that all is not well in the Fascist domain. Despite his newspaper connections, Mr. Darrah is known as one of the most able and honest of American foreign correspondents, and his expulsion on three-hours' notice cannot even be matched in Nazi Germany. While a military adventure such as that as appears to have been contemplated in Abyssinia may frequently be prompted by a desire to allay domestic unrest, a serious increase in disaffection might cause the project to be abandoned.

PRESIDENT CÁRDENAS'S victory over General Calles, virtual dictator through a number of administrations, should have a profound influence on the Mexican revolutionary movement. During the brief time in which he has been in office, Cárdenas has done much to reawaken the revolutionary fervor of the early days of Calles's power. Because of his scrupulous fairness in protecting the rights of labor in recent strikes, he has gained the enthusiastic support of student and labor organizations. Moreover, he has been solidly behind the movement to eliminate the reactionary influence of the church in the field of education. While all of this may be good political strategy on the part of Cárdenas, he has shown himself to be far more independent than any recent president. Meanwhile Calles, one of the wealthiest men in Mexico, appears to have discredited himself completely by calling on the government to show an iron hand in putting down strikes. Having overreached himself in his anti-labor stand, he has been compelled to retire, at least temporarily, from public life. Whether the present left-wing clique can retain power against the church and other reactionary elements if it splits irrevocably with Calles remains to be seen. The chances would appear to be distinctly in its favor, however, if the United States continues to refrain from interfering in the situation.

IF HUEY LONG could have conducted his filibuster on behalf of a genuine share-the-wealth amendment to the pension section of the Security bill, he would have made a far better investment of his profligate energy. Speeches on security in the Senate, however, are to be limited, so this self-immolation was denied the Kingfish. His filibuster against the NRA, not being on a theme to arouse the lower middle class to whom he must appeal, cannot rate as more than a timely personal recapture of the front page. It cost him more than the vitality he poured out, he lost friends in the Senate, and gave his enemies their first proof that he could be beaten at his own tricks. Long's friends were offended because he made the filibuster into a one-man show, and shut them out. His enemies heretofore have feared that if they stood up to him he would enter their constituencies and fight them in the next campaign. This time they braved the lightning. Significantly, Senator Schwellenbach, a radical, took the lead in forcing the issue. If Long is to be held off it will not be by the Farleys, Robinsons, and Harrisons, but by men of the left who refuse to sanction his Louisiana dictatorship merely because his doctrines have a radical sound. The filibuster was an arresting piece of showmanship, and anyone who can inject occasional comedy into the legislative drama of Washington is a benefactor. But in this instance Long was a clown and not a demagogue and did not help himself.

THE NRA lives on with a skeleton staff, waiting for the time when either the Constitution is amended or Congress finds some way of restoring it to fuller powers without crossing the Supreme Court. The President, in appointing its new chief personnel, forecast future legislation. In the waiting periods, Leon C. Marshall, as head of a new division of review, will compile the records of the two years' of experience. James L. O'Neill becomes the new administrator, and with his self-effacing temperament reflects the subdued status of the organization which General Johnson once thought the greatest social advance since the Sermon on the Mount. George L. Berry will be assistant administrator to advise on labor questions, and Philip Murray is on the advisory council with William Green, so that labor keeps its hand in. Leon Henderson, whose sense of public service as head of the planning and research division made frequent trouble for the soft pedalers, has been rewarded by being omitted from the new advisory council and will be offered "another post." Walton H. Hamilton, however, will be there to watch out for the public interest. The job to relish is Marshall's, for the work of compiling the history of the Blue Eagle will be one of continuous adventure, and for anyone with a social conscience an opportunity for the highest kind of service. Properly interpreted this history should keep a new NRA from becoming what the old one was in so many aspects, a legalization of sharp practice. Now that the NRA has been saved from extinction, it will serve to guage the present velocity of events to recall that the great NRA parade astounded the world only a little more than twenty-one months ago.

THE SIMPLE REASONABLENESS of examining Tom Mooney's charge that he was convicted on perjured evidence has at last been discovered in California, and the state supreme court has issued a writ of habeas corpus returnable June 27. On that day the attorney general must disprove the allegations of perjury, or the famous prisoner will go free. Seventeen years ago Mooney appealed to this same court but it ruled it was powerless to go beyond the records of the actual trial. The same argument by the state was used before the United States Supreme Court this year to which Mooney applied for a writ of habeas corpus. In the decision on that action the state of California was told that its argument was contrary to constitutional law and Mooney was advised to try again in his own state. The time table of this case will stand as an enduring monument to prejudice, but we share the confidence of millions of Mooney's friends that he will win a belated victory now that the case is to be reopened.

AS USUALLY HAPPENS in such cases, the alumni of Rensselaer Polytechnic have endorsed the action of Acting President Edwin S. Jarrett in dropping Granville Hicks from his post of assistant professor of English because of "retrenchment policies." The college paper, the *Polytechnic*, has apologized to the alumni for its former support

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of Mr. Hicks, Major General Edward Murphy Markham has made his scheduled patriotic commencement address, and all the officials of the Institute seem to feel that the Hicks episode is a matter of the past. We think differently. The ousting seems to have been based wholly upon the fact that Mr. Hicks is a Communist, which is to say, it was a flagrant violation of academic freedom. We hope that the American Association of University Professors and the American Civil Liberties Union will bring the Institute promptly to account. Meanwhile the friends of academic freedom may contemplate the following revealing statement by Acting President Jarrett:

> We were founded by a capitalist of the old days. We have developed and prospered under the capitalist regime. The men we have sent forth and who have become industrial leaders have, in their generosity, and for the benefit of the youth of the country, richly endowed us. We have trained men eager to work under that system, full of confidence that the doctrine of rugged individualism is the doctrine which, supported by strong self-effort and self sacrifice, fighting bravely the battle of legitmate competiton will bring to them financial independence and protection from adversity. We are proud of those alumni and we are proud of their adherence to the inexorable human laws. I think we should stand four-square to the world and declare our faith. In my opinon as the years pass, time will vindicate us just as surely as the past has approved of us. If we are condemned as the last refuge of conservatism, let us glory in it.

LITTLE LIGHT has been thrown on the situation in North China by the developments of the past week. The Central Political Council at Nanking has shown unexpected courage in refusing to accept Japan's blanket demands, though in placing the final decision upon the shoulders of Chiang Kai-shek they have in effect capitulated. All of Japan's immediate demands have already been granted. A new garrison commander, mayor, and police commissioner have assumed office at Tientsin. The local offices of the Kuomintang in North China have been closed, and the ex-Manchurian troops under Yu Hsueh-chung have been removed. In Inner Mongolia, General Sung Cheh-yuan has accepted the Japanese demands in full. Anti-Japanese agitation is being rigorously suppressed in all parts of the country, and a three-year-old ban on the advertising of Japanese products has been lifted. The apathy of the Chinese population in the face of these concessions is explicable only by the fact that it has been kept in almost complete ignorance regarding the crisis. Nevertheless there are certain demands, such as the recognition of Manchoukuo, which Nanking has apparently refused to grant. Since it is inconceivable that China should defy the Japanese army single-handed, partial encouragement has probably been received in some foreign capital. Although the rumor that Ambassador Quo Tai-chi had appealed for British support under the Nine-Power Pact may have been premature, a showdown between the powers and Japan cannot be postponed indefinitely.

THE EMPHASIS which the Japanese authorities have placed on the Tangku truce in the recent crisis has strengthened the belief that this agreement contained a number of secret protocols in addition to its published terms. While the exact nature of these provisions can only be surmised from subsequent developments, they would appear to embody the substance of the Twenty-one Demands. The existence of such a secret document would explain the long list of concessions which Nanking has so readily granted in the past twelve months. Among the first was the restoration of through railway service between Peiping and Mukden—vigorously protested at the time by patriotic Chinese groups. This was followed by a resumption of postal communications between Manchoukuo and China, the establishment of a tariff favorable to Japanese goods, the setting up of customs posts along the Great Wall, and the refunding of the notorious "Nishihara" loans. The recent demands for the withdrawal of Nanking troops below the Yellow river and the abandonment of all Kuomintang activities in North China were also possibly included in the original agreement, the supposition being that the Japanese militarists deliberately postponed the enforcement of these provisions until Chinese public opinion should have been brought under control.

OFFICIAL MEDICINE took a long step forward last week when the House of Delegates at the Atlantic City convention of the American Medical Association approved voluntary budgeting for medical care with either prepayment or post-payment. At the same time the convention went on record as opposed to any form of compulsory health insurance. Less than three years ago the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, composed of eminent physicians and laymen, advocated in its final report the establishment of voluntary agencies through which persons of low incomes could be given full medical and hospital care for relatively small fixed periodic payments. The day the report was made public the official *Journal* of the American Medical Association bitterly attacked it as communistic. "Socialized medicine" was thereafter the target of excited opposition from county and state medical societies all over the country. It is gratifying that the American Medical Association has now officially eaten its words. Possibly three years from now the association will take another step forward by eating its words of last week in opposition to compulsory health insurance.

MAX BAER, the former heavyweight champion of the world, who was defeated on points by Jimmy Braddock, may be dead so far as eminence in the ring is concerned, but to us the memory of his brief career will always remain green. Whether or not he was a master of the art of boxing we are not competent to say, but he brought something new and refreshing to the prize ring. He brought contempt to it. The great boxers of the past—John L. Sullivan, Bob Fitzsimmons, Gentleman Jim Corbett, Jess Willard, Jack Johnson, Jack Dempsey—were mighty sluggers first and last, but they all took their business very seriously, even when widespread corruption robbed them of more than 50 per cent of their earnings. Max Baer also could hit powerfully, as Primo Carnera and Max Schmeling will long remember, but he had no illusions about what he was doing, and he never uttered a single word about the "character-building qualities" of boxing. The ring was not a field of glory to him. It was a rostrum for heaping contempt upon his opponent and upon the assembled fans. So great was his scorn that though both his hands were injured he almost laughed Jimmy Braddock to defeat. Jimmy may have the crown, but to us the champion of champions is still Maxie.

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Stop the Ship-Subsidy Plunder!

HIDING behind the argument of national defense, the shipowners are preparing again to raid the Treasury for their enormous profit. This was a familiar spectacle under a Republican Administration. It reached a climax of shamelessness in the Jones-White act of 1928. Now it is being repeated, hardly more subtly, in the Bland-Copeland bill on which early action is expected in Congress. Despite the traditional hostility of the Democratic party to subsidies, despite the President's message to Congress, asking that subsidies, since they were to be continued, be paid openly and not through building loans and mail contracts, the shipping interests are demonstrating that they are stronger than parties.

They themselves drafted the Bland-Copeland bill, and it was introduced a few days after the President's message. If nobody chanced to study it, it would pass the House Merchant Marine committee unanimously, and might slide through Congress without a record vote. Since it was sponsored by two Democrats it easily could be mistaken for an Administration bill. But the bill was studied—there are still some public-spirited Congressmen—and it was found to continue the plunder of the Act of 1928 under a new and even more rapacious guise. Construction subsidies and loans were to remain, and even mail contracts could be made. According to Congressman Moran, the first to expose it, shipowners under the bill could borrow up to 88 per cent of the value of ship, and then operate it with government help the maximum of which was not clearly specified. The possibility of making new mail contracts has since been deleted, but the bill remains a fraud, and merely perpetuates the scandal of subsidies in other forms.

Now it should have fallen to Secretary Roper to defend the President and the country from this bill. If he were a loyal Secretary of Commerce, instead of a special lobbyist, he would have done so. Instead, when asked point-blank by the House committee for his judgment on the bill he replied that while it differed from the President's recommendations, he did not object to it. The committee likewise asked Postmaster General Farley for his judgment, and he declined to give an opinion. Thus the President has no one in his Cabinet to lead a fight for him against the shipping interests, and Moran, Brewster, and Wearin in the House committee and Black in the Senate have been like snipers firing on a marching army. Even if the bill is reported to both houses with minority reports, there is no certainty of its being defeated.

It would not be enough to defeat it, since legislation to protect the public must be passed in its place. The shipping interests are in a happy position. If they fail to get the Bland-Copeland bill, and no legislation is passed, the Shipping Board remains, it has a melon of $20,000,000 ready to cut, and the only action left to the government to end the mail-subsidy scandal is for the President to cancel existing contracts. This he can do until October 31. But this will stir up a hornet's nest of litigation, and with the memory of the canceled air-mail contracts he will be loath to do it.

The only available substitute for the Bland-Copeland legislation is government ownership, proposed by Senator Black and Congressman Moran. Since the government is putting up nearly all the cost for building and operating the merchant marine, they argue it might as well own it outright, and since objection is made to government operation Moran is willing to have private operation by license.

We prefer not to have any ship subsidy whatever, since we do not share the mystic faith in the benefits of a subsidized merchant marine. If foreign shippers carry our freight at reasonable rates we are leaving to them one avenue for paying their debts to this country. The only argument against relying on foreign ships is that in time of war we are left without enough vessels to safeguard our interests. The chief of these interests is the transport of men and supplies to fight abroad. It is still the official conception that national defense entails our being able to send four million Americans to fight overseas. It is a defiance of public opinion to maintain this conception and to enrich shipowners to carry it out. If there is any proposition which would lose in a national referendum it is this idea that we must be prepared to repeat the calamity of 1917. The other argument is that in time of a war in which we do not participate we shall not be able to continue our neutral trade because of the shortage in shipping. No doubt shipping costs would be high. But this is a question of dollars and cents. Is it not cheaper to pay this cost for the duration of a foreign war than to pour out annually our tens of millions to enrich a handful of shipowners?

We are not so sanguine as to expect Congress, trained by years of propaganda by shipowners, to abandon subsidies altogether, so we must come back to the Roosevelt policy of paying out public money openly, and ending the sickening abuses of the past. Government ownership is at least an honest solution of the problem. If the government is going to advance 88 per cent of the cost of new ships, and pay the differential between American and foreign costs of operation, it might as well assume all the responsibility, own its own fleet, and get it operated as efficiently as possible. That will close off the era of corruption described in the report of the Black committee on mail and air contracts. It will put an end to the shipowners' lobby and to the firm of Ira S. Campbell (presumed to be the author of the Bland-Copeland bill), drawing a legal fee of $252,000 for representing one company of shipowners in Washington. Then the shipping men who honeycomb the Department of Commerce can be weeded out, and that department made more capable of rendering disinterested public service. When it comes to socialization we prefer to socialize something other than losses which a government-owned merchant marine might amount to. But if this is the only price for ending the plunder of the Treasury by shipping interests, we are ready to see it paid. It is an insult to American intelligence for the owners to argue that government ownership is "bolshevism," hence un-American. But we can understand their delight in an Americanism which lets the Treasury buy their ships, and the Post Office pay the entire cost of operating them, while they wave the flag and pocket the profits.

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The Banking Bill in Danger

THE banking bill for the moment is being held up by Senator Glass in his subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency. There it is being subjected to one-sided criticism by witnesses specially drawn from the reactionary Senator's friends. Ominously, the bill vanished last week from the President's "must" program, the first victory of the obstructionist campaign of the bankers. We have called this bill a "vestige of the New Deal," and it is well to restate the principles at stake. First comes the basic political issue of giving the people through their elected representatives in Congress a part in shaping monetary policy. The bankers ask that it should be entrusted entirely to them without responsibility to the representatives of the nation. The underlying economic issue runs parallel to this. Banker control makes the dollar safe for the creditor class; "political" control would at least open up the possibility that the debtors when hard-pressed by falling prices, might influence monetary policy.

The framers of the Constitution gave Congress the power to coin money and to regulate its value, not for the reasons of abstract political theory, but to protect the creditor or propertied class. State legislatures were too prone to resort to paper money issues so it was thought that the power to issue money could be more safely entrusted to a body operating under the elaborate system of checks and balances of the federal government. Despite Constitutional precautions, however, the will of the majority occasionally has made itself felt, since the majority is invariably blind to the "blessings" of falling prices. A threat to the creditor class arose after the panic of 1907. The phrase "banking reform," so distasteful to bankers, became current. The situation was serious enough to call for delay and the appointment of a commission. The Aldrich Commission recommended a central bank under banker control. With the "right" men at the helm there was no objection to centralization. But with the advent of Wilson the plan had to be abandoned and a compromise worked out. The result was a decentralized reserve system, with the majority of the directors of the regional reserve banks elected by bankers, but the central, coordinating Reserve Board appointed by the President. The set-back for the bankers proved, however, only temporary. Under the benevolence of the Republican regime the substance of power was quickly transferred again to the centers of finance. The governors of the reserve banks, not even mentioned in the Federal Reserve Act, became the dominating group in the system. The Federal Reserve Board in Washington was weak and allowed the initiative to be taken by New York. The Banking Act of 1933, prepared by the reactionary Glass, still further weakened the Board by expressly denying it the right to initiate open-market operations. The bankers had been bailed out of their difficulties and strengthened in their control over the banking system.

And then they were suddenly confronted with a bill to put the Federal Reserve Board in full control of the banking system. Marriner S. Eccles, the new Governor, a Westerner with heretical views on money, spending, and taxation, had stolen a march on them. But the bankers rallied to the fight. Their first task was to restate the issue in a way to enlist public sympathy. Eccles had put it straightforwardly as public control vs. banker control. They twisted this around, making it inflation vs. sound money; experimenting and tinkering vs. the lessons of history; theorists vs. practical men; independent vs. political domination. J. M. Warburg's contribution was the formula that the issue was popular control of the people's money as represented by the Federal Reserve banks vs. political domination as represented by the Reserve Board. Aldrich warned against entrusting such great power to a political board. Owen D. Young and Ogden Mills stressed the necessity of insulating the central bank from the popular will.

We wish we could be convinced that the bankers are in any danger of losing control. The history of the New Deal is *not* reassuring. The Government still is predominantly "their" Government, and the apparatus of the capitalist state has a marvelous faculty for absorbing and rendering harmless anyone thrust up into it as an expression of popular discontent. There is still, however, a chance that the center of gravity of banking control will be shifted somewhat from the financial oligarchy toward the political democracy. Much depends on Eccles. Will he be absorbed by the bankers and the established bureaucracy? We urge him not to compromise like other liberals who have come into the Administration with high principles which they have thrown overboard as soon as the opposition showed power. And we counsel the President to save this, one of the last remaining measures to give the people a greater share in deciding their economic destiny.

Sweet Prince

IT is generally conceded that all actors want to act Hamlet, but for some reason it is not so generally recognized that all writers want to write about him. Three distinguished players—Leslie Howard, John Barrymore, and John Gielgud—promise to interpret the interesting if dilatory gentleman in New York next fall, and *The Nation* seizes upon the news as an opportunity to realize one of its own suppressed desires. For the first time in history it will take a strong editorial position on a question which has been endlessly debated in all centers of learning from the most ancient halls to the littlest and reddest of provincial schoolhouses. Why, after interrupting the ghost with the impatient admonition "Haste me to know it, that I with wings as swift as meditation or the thoughts of love may sweep to my revenge," did Hamlet then proceed to delay so long? Beside this great question all others—even the question how he came to speak of the "bourne from which no traveler returns" just after he had been talking with such a traveler —sink into insignificance.

We fancy our own theory quite a bit and we have never seen it advanced before, but first of all we must repudiate with indignation and horror that most recent and most dispiriting of hypotheses advanced by the learned American scholar, Professor Stoll, who has cynically maintained that the dilatoriness of Hamlet is due solely to the fact that the play must not be allowed to end too soon.

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Revenge stories, he points out, were very popular in the theater of the time but offered a serious technical problem because something had to come between the realization of the wrong and the wracking of the revenge if the piece was to fill the three hours which an Elizabethan audience expected. Shakespeare being a practical man, took the easiest way out and made his hero delay with a fine disregard for the psychological explanations which critics have ever since been busy trying to supply.

Now Professor Stoll argues his case with an impressive array of learning, but if Shakespeare had no better reason than that, then all we can say is that it behooves us to invent one, and so we suggest that Hamlet delayed because he was a man hesitating between two worlds—the medieval and the modern; because the motives which urged him to act had their origin in a medieval system of thought which his deepest self no longer accepted.

Everybody admits, of course, that he had some doubts about the authenticity of the ghost. Philosophy was against its acceptance, and philosophy was triumphant in Hamlet's mind when he spoke of the "bourne from which no traveler returns." But that is not all. The idea that marriage with a deceased husband's brother constituted the mysterious sin of incest was a medieval idea, and so was the whole conception of the duty of private vengeance. Hamlet was living in a world dominated by these medieval ideas and he supposed that he accepted them; but he was also a thinker, and his deepest thoughts were modern thoughts.

In the end, custom and the weight of current opinion drove him into the catastrophe which represents the triumph of the dying world, but Hamlet seemed criminally slow, even to himself, because Hamlet was "ahead of his time." He did not delay because he was mad or because his adventures had to fill five acts. He delayed because, like all men who have got beyond the system of thought current in their time, he was able neither to act as that system of thought supposed that he should nor, by his own effort, create the intellectual atmosphere in which he could function effectively. He was hesitating between the world which was dead and the world which was powerless to be born. And like all who hesitate he was lost—except to the future. Shakespeare himself was living in an age just emerging from medievalism into the Renaissance. Why should he not have embodied in his greatest character the perplexities of such a time?

We do not expect any of the three Hamlets of the next season to be exactly ours. Mr. Barrymore will doubtless return to his portrait of a youth afflicted with the Oedipus complex, and Mr. Howard will probably present us with a playful prince whose intricate fancies interest him far more than the messy business which has imposed itself upon him. As for Mr. Gielgud, he comes highly recommended from London, but we should be sorely disappointed if by any improbable chance he should have hit upon a theory like ours. One of the nicest things about an interpretation of Hamlet is that no one wants to share it, and we can think of only one thing which would be likely to make the world lose interest in a play which happens to be, among other things, practically fool-proof. If Professor Stoll, *The Nation,* or anybody else should actually solve "the problem," then "Hamlet" would retire to those shelves where only students disturb the dust on Heywood and Chapman.

Mr. Hearst Presents Andrew Smith

As the latest of a series of violent anti-Soviet diatribes, the New York *Journal* and other Hearst papers have been running some articles by one Andrew Smith, former member of the American Communist Party. Unlike several of Hearst's previous authorities on Russia, there seems to be no doubt that Mr. Smith actually lived and worked in the Soviet Union. Facsimiles are presented of his passport, rent receipts, and other documents that Russians so delight in. Details are given which indicate at least a superficial knowledge of present-day Soviet life.

Mr. Smith's conclusions regarding conditions in a Soviet state bear a striking resemblance to those of his predecessors in the Hearst press. All Russia is a vast prison where workers and peasants are enslaved by the "Stalinist Party." "Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, labor is terrorized, strangled, voiceless"; and the people have been reduced "to indescribable poverty." Mr. Smith seeks to substantiate these assertions by recounting his own misery as an employee of *Elektrozavod,* one of Moscow's leading factories. He submits a detailed budget to show that it was impossible for him to live on his salary of 450 rubles a month.

A list of his expenditures for rent, subscription to the state loan, income tax, party and trade-union dues, and miscellaneous other expenses, including contributions, shows a total of 205 rubles, leaving only 245 rubles for food and clothing. But five articles of food alone—butter, pork, salami, smoked fish and bread—are listed as costing 278 rubles. The deficit was met by selling his American-made clothing.

Presented in neat tabular form this statement is rather convincing until one examines the figures closely. Then certain blatant discrepancies appear. One notes, for example, that the total amount allotted to rent in the facsimile of his rent receipt is 23.50 rubles a month as against the 45 rubles specified in the text, while the payment on the government loan appears to be 10 rubles instead of 50. In the list of foods, one finds the amount of butter consumed by two persons entered as three and a half kilograms a month—nearly eight pounds—which is surely adequate to prevent starvation. Incidentally butter is one of the most scarce and high-priced of all foods in the Soviet Union. Fifteen pounds of pork, four and a half of salami, and nine of smoked fish is perhaps not an unreasonable amount, but again it is interesting to observe that the Smiths managed to choose the most expensive foods. But in addition, the two of them consumed 45 kilos—the equivalent of 99 loaves—of bread! This entire food basket, Mr. Smith assures us, was worth only $5 in gold prices. To substantiate this, he quotes Torgsin figures which give evidence of having been deliberately falsified.

One of the documents reproduced by the *Journal* was a certificate from the *Electrozavod,* dated February 5, 1935, which was described as Mr. Smith's "discharge for vacation." The Russian on the certificate, however, reads "discharged for loafing." Is it possible that Mr. Hearst has been taken for another ride?

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One Year of Tariff Reciprocity

A YEAR has passed since President Roosevelt signed the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act which was to have been the first step in a much-needed revision in American commercial policy. Armed with the power to make tariff concessions up to 50 per cent in reciprocal agreements, the Administration has opened negotiations with eighteen countries during these twelve months. In many cases preliminary conversations had already been under way with these nations for over a year before the final passage of the act. Yet to date just five reciprocal pacts have been signed under the new law, only one of which—that with Cuba—is of any real importance. Our aggregate dutiable imports from the remaining four countries with which we have reached agreement—Brazil, Belgium, Haiti, and Sweden—are less than 3 per cent of our total dutiable imports, while our exports to these countries are less than 5 per cent of the total. A treaty which had been concluded with Colombia prior to the passage of the act was dropped.

To imply that the Administration's tariff program has been a complete failure because of the small number of agreements concluded would be manifestly unfair to Secretary Hull and those of his assistants who have worked conscientiously to bring about genuine tariff reductions. The United States has made tariff concessions on more than a hundred different items, and the potential market for American exports has been enlarged by even more substantial concessions on the part of the various foreign countries. In some instances the reductions made by the United States have served to correct the most flagrant abuses in American tariff policy. Lowering of the duty on sugar, for example, from a cent and a half a pound to nine-tenths of a cent should mean a direct benefit to Cuban producers of at least $20,000,000 annually, and the 50 per cent reduction in the duty on manganese provided in the Brazilian agreement adjusts one of the most indefensible of America's tariffs. No one will deny that the Administration's program has made an appreciable breach in the log-jam of international trade.

A close examination of each of the pacts reveals, however, that the progress made is much less than is commonly supposed. The effect of the two most important reductions made by the United States—those on sugar and tobacco—is virtually nullified by the imposition of drastic quota restrictions on the importation of these products. There will always be a suspicion, moreover, that the generosity shown by the United States toward Cuban sugar may be explained by the fact that approximately two-thirds of the sugar mills in Cuba are American-owned. The other reductions made by the United States, though praiseworthy, either are on articles that constitute an insignificant portion of our trade or will have little effect on the total volume of imports. In the Belgian pact the United States made concessions averaging 24 per cent on forty-eight dutiable items. Of these, ten are not produced in the United States, while eighteen are exported in greater quantities than they are imported—indicating that the United States possesses a definite competitive advantage without recourse to tariffs.

The most fundamental weakness in the agreements thus far completed lies in the fact that in each instance the United States has obviously obtained much greater concessions than it has granted. In the case of Brazil and Haiti this was inevitable, as the amount of dutiable imports from these countries is insignificant. The meagerness of the State Department's concessions to Brazil has been defended on the ground that Brazil enjoys a favorable balance of trade with this country. This excuse can scarcely be applied to the Belgian pact; yet the volume of trade covered by Belgium's reductions was approximately three times as large as those upon which we made concessions, and the reductions were much more substantial in size. In the case of Cuba the discrepancy was not so marked, but it is significant that our exports to Cuba during the first few months in which the pact was in force increased more than our imports.

To the average American this will simply be interpreted as an indication of the success of the new trade policy. Despite repeated warnings by economists, the public as a whole remains export- rather than import-minded. The emphasis on exports was normal as long as we were a debtor country, and was not particularly serious as long as we continued to invest vast sums abroad. But as a creditor unwilling to indulge in further foreign investment, it is evident that we must accept an increase in imports or witness a continued decline in exports, accompanied by a complete loss of our remaining foreign investments. This fundamental adjustment can only be achieved if our tariff concessions are substantially larger than those of other nations.

It is at this point that the Administration's tariff program shows every sign of breaking down. As the most powerful commercial nation in the world, the United States is in a position to demand more than it concedes. The very terminology of the bargaining process with its emphasis on "concessions" and "trade advantages" makes it difficult for the government to keep long-range objectives in mind when negotiating a specific agreement. It is scarcely an accident, for example, that the first two pacts signed under the new policy were with the only two important countries which sell us more than they purchase from us, while no pact has been concluded with our best customers.

Further evidence of the effect of nationalistic psychology upon the Administration's trade policy may be found in the decision not to extend the reductions made in bilateral agreements to countries which discriminate against American exports. This is in effect an abandonment of America's traditional emphasis on equality of treatment, and is difficult to distinguish in principle from the two-schedule tariff system set up by many European countries. Debtor nations may be forced by economic pressure to resort to retaliatory or defensive commercial policies, but for a creditor to adopt any measure which obstructs imports and creates international animosity is suicidal. Unless some means can be found to curb the nationalistic passions which are aroused by the bargaining process, there is real danger that the Administration's tariff program will fall of its own weight or be transformed into an aggressive weapon which will accentuate the errors of our outworn commercial policy.

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Issues and Men

Roosevelt as Administrator

A DISTINGUISHED Southern editor has asked me if I would not "explain in *The Nation* the reason for the President's ceaseless change of administrators." He adds: "Nobody can run any business if its executives are shuffled every two or three months." I do not know that I can throw much light upon the subject. But it is easy to understand the uneasiness of my Southern colleague as he contemplates the ever-growing list of the President's appointees who have flitted in and out of the Administration and the New Deal. Here are some of the names: Lewis Douglas, O. M. W. Sprague, Clarence Darrow, Raymond Moley, S. Clay Williams, General Johnson, Dean G. Acheson, Under Secretary of the Treasury, and now Donald Richberg. At least three of the President's closest Brain Trust advisers at the outset of his Administration, Professors Warren and Rogers and A. A. Berle, Jr., have retired, while in the famous purge of the AAA four members of the legal department were dropped, Jerome Frank was transferred to another position, Frederick C. Howe demoted, and Gardiner Jackson dropped. Mr. Woodin's retirement from the Treasury does not count because he was fatally ill and voluntarily resigned. There are now rumors that J. P. Kennedy, the head of the Securities Exchange Commission, and James A. Moffett, Administrator of the Housing Act, will retire. The office of special adviser to the President on foreign trade, to which George S. Peek was shifted out of the AAA, has been abolished. The President also lost Lloyd K. Garrison, the successful chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, but that was because Glenn Frank, head of the University of Wisconsin, would not give him up.

This does seem like a staggeringly long list, and it could be considerably lengthened by the addition of other advisers, like Bernard Baruch, who are occasionally called in and then dropped again. I have no doubt that there are defenders of the President who would point to the tremendous number of appointments made and insist that the mortality caused by the Presidential ax is not great if viewed from the percentage angle. The fact is, however, that many of these men were very much in the public eye when they were dropped, Raymond Moley, for example—that is, if he was dropped and did not go of his own accord—and the net result has been a growing feeling of uneasiness in the minds of many who, like my Southern friend, think that this connotes vacillation, unsteadiness of purpose, and inability to judge men well. They are worrying all the more because of the temporary chaos occasioned by the startling decision of the Supreme Court. Whom else will the President turn to now? they ask as they read of his sending for Felix Frankfurter and General Johnson, and how long will he be guided by these men?

It is true that your great administrator is born and not made. I fancy that the all-important quality is the ability to pick the right kind of men for the jobs in hand and then to give them authority. The great executive whom we have come to know through movies and the *Saturday Evening Post,* who sits at his glass-topped desk with his finger on the pulse of everything that is going on in his $100,000,000 corporation, exists surely, if he exists anywhere, only because he has got the right assistants and is making them work like dogs while he shows off. That President Roosevelt is really successful in choosing his lieutenants, I am inclined to doubt. He certainly departed from tradition in picking many of the men whose names I have listed above. That does not mean that he should not have turned to college professors and other outsiders. But the speed with which many of them returned to their non-governmental tasks certainly seems to indicate a serious clash of opinions, to say the least. And when one looks at the Cabinet and the New Deal as a whole one feels profoundly the lack of hard-hitting administrators—yes, even of the type of Hugh Johnson, who despite his many faults set up a big department, got a lot done in quick time, and challenged the public imagination.

I do not think that the President has been guilty of many drastic and illegal removals like that of Mr. Humphreys, in which case the Supreme Court has overruled him, but there have been plenty of the ordinary kind of removals, and many of his administrative errors and shortcomings are undoubtedly due to his failure to live up to what he wrote in "On Our Way": "We need a trained personnel in government; we need disinterested as well as broad-gauged public officials." The National Civil Service Reform League in its annual report criticized the President for using these words and then, "for practical reasons," compromising "with the patronage hunters when that seemed politically expedient." The report points out that the President has created sixty new agencies of which "all but a half-dozen have been permitted to elect their staffs without reference to either the civil-service law or the salary classification regulating compensation in the old departments." If we are to be fair to the President, however, it should be pointed out that his Administration has drawn into the public service many men of the finest quality, men and women also who have given up better jobs to serve the government patriotically. Whenever I go to Washington I hear enthusiastic reports of the character and service of the second-rank men in the departments and bureaus, and that helps to reconcile me to many ununderstandable appointments to the diplomatic service and to other positions. At least four members of the Cabinet could with advantage be dropped, and of course the Postmaster General heads the list. Fortunately his retirement has been announced, and I am sure that my Southern friend will neither be disturbed by it nor lay it up against the President.

Oswald Garrison Villard

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The Army Runs Amuck

By SAMUEL GRAFTON

THE biggest military scandal of the year was accidentally revealed by a printer's error and hushed within twenty-four hours. The American people were unpleasantly surprised to read in their papers—some of their papers, not all—on May 1 that the United States army was planning to construct an air base near the Canadian border. At the very hour when the May Day sun was glinting on banners demanding peace they learned that the army intended to sacrifice the hundred-year-old tradition of an unguarded Canadian frontier—a tradition that is by all odds the chief glory of our inglorious foreign policy, and that is understood and cherished by many a plain American who knows nothing and cares nothing about the Open Door or the freedom of the seas. It was not intended that the American people should know anything about this air base until it was built. Had not a page of secret testimony crept into an otherwise innocuous report of the activities of the House Military Affairs Committee, the damage would have been done and a permanent breach effected in our relations with Canada. The nature of that secret testimony reveals not only a new spirit of bellicosity in our War Department but also a determined effort by the army to shake off all controls and go its own militaristic way.

The author of this wretched plan to bring to the United States a European border of steel and stone was Brigadier General Charles E. Kilbourne, assistant chief of staff. After telling the House committee how ardently he desired an air base near Canada, he admitted that its construction might cause repercussions among the people of our neighbor on the north. For that reason, he told his hearers, who offered no objections, it would be wise to mark this military air base on the map as "an intermediate point for transcontinental flight." "It means the same thing," he said. The border air base was duly included in the air-base bill; an air-base bill having become necessary to take care of an increased appropriation for airplanes which the army had won, just as a still further increase in the number of airplanes will be required next year to equip the new air bases, in the immemorial manner of army growth since the republic was founded. General Kilbourne's new baby was received with shouts, but not of joy, by the few commentators who leaped upon the issue, and the next day President Roosevelt denounced the scheme, declaring that during his Administration the Canadian border would remain just a line on the map. This was stirring, but the effect was spoiled by the President's further warning that it would be well to keep secret testimony really secret hereafter.

As a matter of fact, even if there was some high-handedness in the army's grab for a new air base, it ill became the Chief Executive to wax very wroth about it. The army's recent arrogance has been carefully nurtured in the bosom of the New Deal. The swivel-chair generals were not left out in the cold while a new order was being established for so many other groups; they got theirs. Hardly had the echoes of the inauguration speech died away before they were given their head; now, with the bit in their teeth, they are loping swiftly to the goals dear to the military heart. In increased appropriations (the new army allotment is $401,998,179, the greatest in peace-time history), in an amazingly enlarged scope of activity (control over 360,000 CCC boys, with more to come, appointment of army officers to more than thirty code authorities, army management of more than $344,000,000 of the civil PWA projects), in constant diversion of "relief" funds to army purposes under guise of "made work," and, above all, in the strange subservience of the Democratic House and Senate to the military establishment, the General Staff and the War College have been made to feel that a new day has dawned. Without throwing any particular bouquets to Mr. Hoover, justice demands that it be recorded that his vision of the proper sphere of the military was much steadier and clearer than that of the present Administration. Before Roosevelt the army was afraid of the House Military Affairs Committee; it is not afraid now.

It was the House Military Affairs Committee which granted the army its $400,000,000 appropriation. It was this same House Military Affairs Committee which last June charged Major General Benjamin B. Foulois, chief of the army air corps, with "dishonesty, inefficiency, and incompetency" in connection with the purchase of army airplanes. It appeared then that General Foulois had rather freely stretched the law in an attempt to spend $7,500,000 for airplanes without competitive bidding, a pleasant army custom which has done much for the bank balances of leaders in the aviation industry. The House committee recommended, quite reasonably, that Foulois be removed from his position of responsibility for purchase of additional airplanes until this little matter was finally determined. The War Department promised to investigate. That was last June. The House Military Committee made two formal requests of the War Department that it act on the matter. It received two separate and solemn assurances that Secretary Dern, through the Inspector General of the Army, was investigating. By the anniversary of the original charges it was impossible to keep silent much longer, and Secretary Dern delivered his report on General Foulois. That report is a small masterpiece. The formal charges against Foulois were three: (a) the airplane business, (b) the allegation that he had made rash promises as to the Army's ability to fly the air mail, and (c) that, in general, he had made exaggerated statements to the House Military Committee on subjects unrevealed. Secretary Dern found that the general was innocent of wrong-doing in his airplane purchases; that his statement as to Army ability to fly the mail was no more than "optional"; that the General had made some exaggerated statements and should be reprimanded. Put it all together and it spells whitewash. After the Dern report was made known, Representative Rogers of New Hampshire, chairman of the House Military subcommittee that had made the original charges, denounced Foulois from the floor of the House as an intentional violator of the law and as "a liar and a perjurer under oath before our committee, time

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and time again." The Committee's request that Foulois be relieved as chief of the air corps is blithely ignored. He will remain, and it will be his duty to handle the slew of money which his own accusers on the House Committee will put into his hands to buy more airplanes. The Inspector General's report remains secret. The reprimand means nothing. The Army has investigated itself and found itself innocent.

Last spring and summer there was a grand-jury probe of army purchasing that promised to rock the country. Washington was full of stories of mismanagement of a $10,000,000 PWA fund earmarked for army motorization. (General Foulois's airplanes were also to be constructed with PWA money; the New Deal doesn't annoy the army with petty questions as to the disposition of the precious relief funds it doles out so sparingly to the cities.) It was whispered that a lobby had the entire motorization program under control; that only one brand of car was being bought; that astute lobbyists were permitting army officers to win easily at poker in hotel-room sessions. The grand jury considered and reconsidered, then disbanded without making recommendations, after earnest conferences with Secretary of War Dern and Assistant Secretary of War Woodring—who is still unrebuked for his suggestion that a system of "economic storm troops" be fashioned from CCC and veterans' organizations, under army command. At least one Washington correspondent declared that the grand jury had filed a blistering secret report with President Roosevelt; if the President has come to any conclusions on the basis of the report he has kept them to himself.

Hardly had the grand-jury incident been got out of the way, and the Foulois explosion put on the records, when the House Military Affairs Committee began to probe into army lobbying activities. In January of this year the committee reported (a) that an officer in the office of the Judge Advocate General had "puffed and inflated" awards on patent claims, and may thereby have caused the government to sustain "an unwarranted loss of approximately $7,000,000"; (b) that a "high official" supplied valuable information regarding specifications to a lobbyist; (c) that Colonel Williams (who was recently court-martialed) was lent $2,000 by a lobbyist on an unsecured note, on which payment was never made, and that the officer tried to secure return of the note without paying; (d) that when this lobbyist was a fugitive from justice, the officer met him but did nothing to secure his arrest; (e) that army officials approached lobbyists and sought fees from them for services; (f) that "corrupt business agents have sought and have obtained special consideration and information from weak and dishonest government officials."

This was a remarkable report in more ways than one. After developing all this information, the House Military Affairs Committee was suddenly afflicted with that shyness which seems to overcome all in the presence of the nation's military. It announced that it would not reveal the names of the guilty parties, "because the War Department is making its own investigation." (The War Department later did reveal the name of *one* of the guilty parties, Colonel Williams, and then carefully refrained from giving the name of the lobbyist involved.) This, mind you, was the same War Department that had already stalled the same House committee for seven months on the Foulois business by using the same excuse, that it was making its own investigation. If anyone suggested that the Federal Trade Commission should turn an investigation of the utilities over to the leading utility executives, there would be a proper storm at Washington. But when a precisely parallel procedure is followed in an investigation of the army, it is accepted as a matter of course.

I do not cite these graft stories because of a determination to prove the army dishonest. Something deeper and more important is involved. The question at issue is the attitude of the army, the arrogance it has recently assumed as contrasted with the decent humility it ought to display in a country where it has never previously been allowed to take the lead in any major policy, and where it was wisely established that the military should forever be restrained by the hand of an elected civilian commander-in-chief. Now, for the first time, the reins are loose, and the army is going places. When the House of Representatives wanted to leave the recently ordered increase in the army's enlisted strength to the discretion of the President, General Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff, strongly suggested that an increase should be put into effect immediately, and Congress obligingly enlarged the personnel from 118,750 to 165,000.

The Senate killed a suggestion by Senator Royal S. Copeland that $132,000,000 be added to the army's already bloated budget for the construction of new army posts, but the thought was freely expressed on the Senate floor that the army would get the money anyway from the famous $4,880,000,000 works-relief fund. We may therefore look forward to a total military expenditure during the next fiscal year of well over half a billion dollars. (The navy has already drawn an allocation of $238,000,000 of works-relief funds for new ships.) When the Nye Munitions Investigating Committee of the Senate was seriously considering the nationalization of arms manufacture, it was army officers who scotched the plan by appearing, under the chaperonage of Secretary of War Dern, to denounce such a scheme as "suicidal." The army's passion for expansion has been inflamed by CCC operations to the extent of an army-inspired bill calling for military training in the several thousand camps already established and in the thousands more contemplated by the civilian commander-in-chief, also to be financed out of works-relief funds. The CMTC and the ROTC establishments have been greatly expanded, to give us more officers for the military work that our good-neighbor policy is supposed to render unnecessary.

More than ever before in our history our army has assumed a definite peace-time political status, has become a directing influence. It has developed a program that does violence to some of our oldest national beliefs; the Canadian air base was a sample. Its goal, even if the hot vaporings of Storm Trooper Woodring be discounted as not representative, is a "civilian" officership of 220,000 (Lieutenant Colonel Orvel Johnson, director general of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps Association, speaking), plus 600,000 CCC boys, plus a standing army of 165,000. Guiding that army, shaping national policy to expand it, directing our thinking in many channels, will be a military leadership coddled by the New Deal and ever more closely approximating the typical European military machine with its fingers in many departments of the national life. If we want that sort of thing, all right, but let's recognize that it is coming and prepare ourselves mentally for it.

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Once Again the "Yellow Peril"

By CAREY McWILLIAMS

ON January 6, 1935, George West wrote in the New York *Times* that "feeling against the Japanese has abated in California, its place being taken by resentment against the Filipino and Mexican laborer." Although Filipino and Mexican laborers have indeed replaced the Japanese, the feeling against the Japanese has not appreciably abated. In fact, a strong and determined drive against them was launched about the first of the year and is now well under way. It differs, however, from previous crusades both in motivation and objectives, being based upon implications inherent in Mr. West's observation that the Japanese have moved forward economically. The Japanese, in other words, are no longer a troublesome menial class but the visibly successful representatives of a powerful competitive nation. Previous crusades against them have been conducted on the low level of race hatred and nationalistic bigotry. The present campaign is conditioned by the troubled trade relations between Japan and America, the determination of American industrialists to exclude Japan from the markets of Central and South America, and the emergence of the resident Japanese into the capitalistic sphere.

The older chauvinism, however, is not dead. It has never been given a chance to die. Like the Chinese issue in the seventies, it has been part of the stock in trade of every California politician for the last two decades. Since 1924, for example, anti-Japanese feeling has been capitalized by the California Joint Immigration Committee, an important cog in the political machine of Senator Hiram Johnson. Nominally this committee is supported by the American Legion, the State Federation of Labor, and the Native Sons of the Golden West, but actually it is ruled by Senator Johnson through his close allies, C. C. McClatchy, publisher of the politically powerful Sacramento *Bee,* and V. S. McClatchy. While the committee has no official standing, it has great power and influence. U. S. Webb, for many years attorney general of the state, is one of its directors. Assisted by its parent organization and the influence of such officials as Attorney General Webb and Senator Johnson, and ably supported by the Hearst press, whose continued loyalty to Senator Johnson is predicated upon a strong anti-Japanese alliance, the California Joint Immigration Committee has been largely responsible for keeping anti-Japanese feeling alive in California.

The present campaign began with a hubbub in the Hearst papers about "inequitable Oriental competition sapping the economic life of America and retarding recovery." A survey of industrial plants was made to convince harassed local merchants that Japanese competition was responsible for their woes. Figures were quoted to show that Japanese imports have increased since January 1, chiefly through the port of Los Angeles, but it was not explained that this increase was largely caused by goods intended for transshipment to South America. At the same time American industrialists began instituting suits against Japanese merchants and firms for alleged patent infringements.

During the current session of the California legislature numerous measures directed against the Japanese were introduced—bills to drive them from the fishing business; to require all foreign-language newspapers to print at least 20 per cent of their reading matter in English, a measure aimed primarily at the Japanese vernacular newspapers; to make it unlawful for aliens ineligible to citizenship, to "acquire, possess, enjoy, use, cultivate, occupy, or transfer real property or any interest therein and have in whole or in part the beneficial use thereof, or have possession, custody, care, or control of real property"; to provide an elaborate system for the registration of ineligible aliens; to make it unlawful for "any person, firm, or corporation to employ any alien unlawfully residing in the United States."

Not only was this hostile legislative program supported by powerful lobbies, but mysterious propaganda machines began to function. In Southern California the Committee of One Thousand was formed to boycott all things Japanese. Its publication, the *American Defender,* has repeated all the stock calumnies: Japanese truck gardeners use human excrement as fertilizer, thus creating epidemics of "bacillary dysentery"; the Japanese have laid plans to seize the Philippines; the Japanese are active in the opium rings; the Japanese spray their vegetables with "a too powerful solution of lead arsenate," thus killing Americans; the security of California is threatened by the presence of so many Japanese and by the Japanese fishing fleet; the Japanese are training the Peruvians as allies for a war against the United States, and so forth. From the issue of April 27 this specimen is taken:

> Wherever the Japanese have settled, their nests pollute the communities like the running sores of leprosy. They exist like the yellowed, smoldering discarded butts in an over-full ashtray, vilifying the air with their loathsome smells, filling all who have the misfortune to look upon them with a wholesome disgust and a desire to wash.

Because there are no Japanese on the relief rolls, the *American Defender* indignantly concludes that Japanese have driven Americans from their jobs, whereas it is well known that the Japanese have always taken care of their own unemployed.

Anti-Japanese propaganda in California has always been characterized by its offensive stupidity. Consider the arguments in support of the fishing bills. According to the legend, the Japanese have an enormous fleet of fishing boats operating out of California harbors; these boats, being constructed in Japan, may be instantly converted into minelayers and torpedo boats; the entire fleet is manned by Japanese naval officers disguised as fishermen. What are the facts? Of a total of twenty-seven boats between 115 and 135 feet long in the fishing fleets on the entire Pacific Coast, only two belong to Japanese, the rest being owned chiefly by Italians, Finns, and Portuguese. Of a total of twenty-three boats between 85 and 110 feet in length in the fishing fleet, only ten are operated by Japanese. Yet this fleet of twelve boats, working under the guns of the United

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States navy and under the constant scrutiny of its powerful intelligence service, is supposed to threaten the security of California.

In the present session of Congress various California irresponsibles, assured of powerful press support, have charged that there are 500,000 armed Japanese in the United States and that 2,000 trained Japanese naval officers operate fishing boats off the coast of California. As to the first charge, there were only 138,834 Japanese in continental United States in 1930; aliens, moreover, are prohibited by law in California from owning or possessing firearms. As to the second, out of 5,399 licensed fishermen in the state only 680 are Japanese. The "naval officers'" legend has this slender factual basis: in order not to be arrested should they ever return to Japan, all male Japanese between certain ages must register each year that they are "not available for active military service," being absent from their country. So registering, they are listed by Japan as "reserves"; hence, technically, the 676 alien fishermen may be considered part of the potential military forces of Japan.

Irresponsible as such talk is, it has an immediate effect. When, on April 9 last, a so-called Filipino mess boy on the United States army transport Chaumont was found to be an alien Japanese, the Pacific Coast newspapers blazed with indignation. Questioned about their information on the fishing bills, the same newspapers told a local committee of Japanese in Los Angeles that it had been obtained from the intelligence division of the United States navy. On April 28 a company in Santa Barbara announced that it had applied to the government for permission to manufacture gas masks to sell to civilians: "We believe that the time is now here when we should be as prepared as the Japanese." On May 5, when Japanese merchants purchased four old American ships for scrap iron, the headlines broke forth again.

Consider, also, the stupidity of the economic drive against the Japanese. The spear-head of this attack has always been the Alien Land Law. First passed in 1913 but reenacted as an initiative measure in 1919, it contains sweeping prohibitions aimed directly at the Japanese. According to George West, the act has "effectually stopped land ownership by Japanese." But exactly the contrary is the fact. The act is a dead letter. It is no longer enforced, nor is there any sentiment for its enforcement. Moreover, this change in sentiment took place long before the United States Supreme Court held certain provisions of the act unconstitutional (Morrison vs. California, 291 U. S. 82). The truth is that the effect of the act has been to solidify Japanese-American relations. Originally intended to drive the Japanese from California, the law has created a situation which makes this virtually impossible. Since it prohibits an alien Japanese from owning or leasing agricultural lands, it has forced Japanese and Americans into a conspiracy to violate the law. They are now partners in an unholy and highly profitable conspiracy to violate the very measure that binds them together.

What has happened in agriculture has occurred generally. In the case of Jordan vs. Tashiro (278 U. S. 123), the court held that it was lawful for ineligible aliens to form corporations to carry on commercial ventures. Most Japanese businesses in California are for this reason incorporated, a majority of the stock standing in the name of American citizens. It would be difficult, therefore, to single out one industry or business in California owned exclusively by Japanese. To strike at the Japanese today means to strike at American capital. In San Diego the impressive Chula Vista Celery Association is jointly owned and controlled by Japanese and American interests. In the farming area near San Luis Obispo the Japanese-American alliance is also strong, as it is in Fresno and in the Imperial Valley. The Union Flower Market in Los Angeles is owned and controlled by Japanese and American capital; the canneries at San Pedro, which can more than 120,000,000 pounds of fish annually, are dependent upon Japanese fishermen and laborers; the Ninth Street Market in Los Angeles, which does an annual business of about $50,000,000, and the Seventh Street Market, with an annual business of about $70,000,000, are controlled by Japanese and American interests.

Although anti-Japanese propaganda is patently stupid and unrealistic, it can be indulged in with impunity despite the strong economic position of the Japanese. In fact, the Japanese have been rendered more vulnerable by their success, their isolation, their homogeneity. Unlike the Chinese, the Filipinos, and the Mexicans, they have moved out of the menial class. They have become economic equals—temporarily "partners" by reason of a legislative accident—but this circumstance imperils them. Consider the facts. The Exclusion Act of 1924 made immigration a dead issue—although the California Council on Oriental Relations is now seeking to have the Japanese placed on a quota basis—but it isolated the resident Japanese. There are 97,456 Japanese in California, and as Edward K. Strong of Stanford University recently pointed out, "the Japanese problem is not only essentially a California problem but it is becoming more and more a Los Angeles County problem"—70.2 per cent of all Japanese in the United States reside in California and 25.5 per cent are concentrated in Los Angeles County.

Moreover, this tendency to concentrate is increasing. There is no likelihood whatever that the Japanese population will disperse, nor is there any likelihood that it will be readily assimilated. The Japanese tend to form colonies. They have their own system of *gakuens* or Japanese-language schools, of which there are about two hundred in Southern California alone. They are economically and politically autonomous. Their various associations, particularly the Central Japanese Association, virtually govern the Japanese in California, settling disputes, conducting negotiations, keeping them out of trouble. As a successful alien group, located in a relatively small area so that their success is the more conspicuous, they invite the fire of American chauvinists. Will their economic alliances protect them? The present assault has somewhat slackened, but it will unquestionably be revived. Unlike other alien groups the Japanese are members of a race which is, by popular legend, the future enemy of the United States. Every disturbance in trade between Japan and America, every recrudescence of the "yellow peril" for campaign stuff, will affect the resident Japanese. They have emerged from the status of menials, but without full realization of their position they are unwitting pawns in the great game now being played in the Pacific.

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Giannini Fights Morgan

By SASSOON G. WARD

THE proposed Banking Act of 1935 has been called the most important piece of banking legislation laid before Congress since the Civil War. It is all of that. The issue posed by this bill is not unfamiliar in American financial history. Andrew Jackson dealt with it when he vetoed the recharter of the Bank of the United States and withdrew the government's deposits from the bank. Jackson suspected that the management of the bank was working against him. Woodrow Wilson thought he had triumphed over the money trust when he created the Federal Reserve System, but it was later discovered that he was wrong: the Federal Reserve Board allowed control of the system to slip away to New York. Roosevelt has good reason to suppose that after twelve years of Republican rule the Federal Reserve is staffed with people who are unsympathetic to him. The major issue, of course, is the social control of credit, but there is a minor sectional and personal issue. It has to do with the question whether Morgan is to continue determining the credit policies of the nation as a whole.

A. P. Giannini, the San Francisco banker, replying to some remarks of James P. Warburg of New York, put it this way: "If he lays so much importance on who has the control, it surely must be because he knows full well that the control of money is a real power for good or evil. Personally I would rather that this power be exercised by a public body in the public interest than by the New York banking fraternity."

This is no demagogic point Giannini makes. One has only to recall what happened to the Labor government in Great Britain in 1931 to realize the difference it makes to a party in power to have the management of the bank of issue on the other side. But the point sounds strange when it comes from Giannini's lips, for he is a director of the National City Bank and its largest single stockholder. His main banking interests, however, are in California, and in spite of his big investment in the National City Bank he has little use for Wall Street and the New York banker. The voice he raises against "the New York banking fraternity" results in part from a personal grudge against Wall Street. Yet, in a larger sense, it is the voice of many bankers outside the Eastern money centers. It is, particularly, the voice of Marriner S. Eccles, governor of the Federal Reserve Board, a Western banker like Giannini and the man most responsible for the controversial sections of the bill.

The new banking bill represents the first serious challenge to New York control of the Federal Reserve that has come along since the system was founded in 1914. During the war the Federal Reserve's principal function was to help the government raise money. A far greater part of that money was raised in New York than anywhere else, and New York was able to call the tune. After the war the weak Federal Reserve Board was completely dominated by the New York bank, headed by the strongest, most compelling man in the system, Governor Benjamin Strong. It was New York which worked out credit policies, set the trend for rediscount rates, and carried on relations with European banks of issue. The Federal Reserve Board differed with the New York bank on credit policies in 1929, but Charles E. Mitchell, a director of the New York bank, set the board's plans at naught by breaking the board-inspired boycott of the call-loan market, and the views of the New York bank were made to prevail.

Mr. Eccles would put an end to dictation of Federal Reserve policy from New York and get insurance against a revolt by the New York banks against the Roosevelt program. His bill would take control of the open-market committee away from New York and give it to the board, which would have the power of veto over choices for governor of the regional banks. It would give the Federal Reserve the right to make advances on real-estate loans, which would help the New York banks very little but banks in other parts of the country a whole lot. By giving the Federal Reserve Board, through the open-market committee, the right to force regional banks to invest in government securities, his bill would deprive the New York banks of the power they now have of sabotaging the government's spending program by refusing to buy Treasury issues.

The Republican Party was quite willing to let the New York bank run the Federal Reserve show. So long as this situation obtained, the New York banks found no fault with Federal Reserve Board governors, notably Eugene Meyer, who occupied themselves deeply and almost exclusively in furthering the interests of the President who appointed them. Not one Wall Street banking voice was raised in protest against Meyer's activities in behalf of Hoover, but it is obviously something else again if the board is put under the political thumb of a Democratic President.

Thus under the banner of regional autonomy, traditional Federal Reserve principles, and keeping the politicians out of the reserve banks, the New York bankers are making a concerted effort to keep control of the Federal Reserve from passing to Washington. So long as the New York bank is not required to bow to the will of the board, the principal voice in the system's affairs stays in New York. The New York bank has more than a third of the assets of the twelve regional banks combined, and it can mold the system's policy by giving or withholding consent to measures proposed.

Giannini has been mentioned as typical of the banker anxious to see the bill pass so that New York's power can be curbed. In point of fact, the bill might be called a Giannini bill. It is difficult to think of any other banker who would get so much out of it. If the New York bank were made to play second fiddle to the board, Giannini and his like would be the better able to get a hearing for their ideas in Federal Reserve quarters. Nobody gets more out of deposit insurance than Giannini. The bill would make real estate and other long-term assets eligible for discount at the Federal Reserve, and no other Federal Reserve member has so large an amount of these assets which it might turn in for discounting as the Giannini bank. As Giannini has told some of his intimates, "We could sleep nights if this section of the bill were passed."

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The privilege of borrowing from the Federal Reserve on real-estate loans would free Giannini of any fear that he would have to come back, hat in hand, to the New York bankers as he once did. His banks were heavy borrowers a few years ago, and the New York banks advanced the funds he needed until the day when the RFC was established. In view of the service rendered to Giannini at that time, New York bankers think it ungrateful of him to denounce them publicly now. But the reasons for his feud with the New York bankers antedate the loans they made to his banks. It is a case of ignoring the fact that a man has saved you from drowning and remembering only that he once slighted you socially.

New York bankers understand well enough the reason for the Giannini wrath. In 1928 he tried to land a New York Clearing House bank so that he could extend his banking interests to New York in impressive fashion. He controlled two small banks in New York, but they did not serve the purpose. At length he succeeded in obtaining control of the Bank of America from the Jonas brothers and in the open market. But he had no sooner added this bank to his string than he was told by a Morgan partner, Francis D. Bartow, that he would have to distribute the stock to shareholders in Bancitaly, the Giannini holding company. It was explained to Giannini that it was considered unsafe for a Clearing House bank to be part of a chain system. He might be the biggest thing in banking in California, but New York bankers wanted no share of him or his methods. It was a cut that he never forgave or forgot.

His dislike for New York bankers became even more violent when, during his temporary retirement from business, his successor sold the Bank of America to the National City Bank and in the merger virtually all of the former's capital funds disappeared, indicating that National City had seized the opportunity to write off some large losses. Giannini charged then that Wall Street had used the Bank of America to strengthen National City. After that deal Giannini, who thought he had retired, conducted a proxy fight against his successor, Elisha Walker, and defeated him soundly. Giannini demanded a place on the National City Bank board and was able to get it because he had Hiram Johnson insert in the Banking Act of 1933 a provision giving bank stockholders the right to vote their holdings cumulatively for one or two directors.

Before Roosevelt and Eccles and he get through they may have the headquarters of the Federal Reserve shifted from New York to Washington. One thing favors their success: in this same Eccles, former Mormon missionary to Wales, they have the most forceful person ever to sit on the Federal Reserve Board. And he does not have much use for New York.

Mental Tests as Social Reflectors

By EDNA BRAND MANN

MY job as a psychologist working in the New York City schools, involved giving Stanford Binet intelligence tests to four, five, or six children daily for over a year. My main objective was their I. Q. rating, but it often occurred to me that the answer to a single standardized test question, regardless of whether it was scored correct or not, revealed more about a particular child than his I. Q.

I asked a group of children to define charity. In the poor schools I found it commonly defined as "to go and get money." In the private schools there was agreement that "charity means to give things to the poor," one of the favored lads adding, "I'm sick of giving toys to the damned poor." A picture of a Dutch home in which were portrayed a woman and a little girl, crying, was interpreted by poor children thus: "She wants something to eat and the mother can't give it to her"; and by the more fortunate group: "She doesn't like to eat, but her mother is making her."

Such tests give us leads which penetrate as deep into our *mores* as we care to look. The child's responses to the test situation are a product of his life experience and often carry the flavor and color of his personality, his home, the social forces shaping all of us. Reactions which no standardized norms can help us to score may on occasion make the actual test look silly, as witness Martha's comment while the examiner was adding up her final test rating with busy exactness. She said, "You really can't do so good when you have things on your mind and nothing in your stomach."

In general, however, the standard intelligence tests turn out to be valid. Binet's brilliant findings of some twenty-five years ago still work as he foresaw—that far *and* farther. For example, Binet discovered that an average three-year-old child, when shown a picture, will enumerate the objects in it; a seven-year-old will describe them; and a twelve-year-old will interpret them. These types of responses characterize the three levels of development. But when, today, six-year-old Johnny takes one look at a standardized picture showing a stiff early American room with a weeping lady and departing gentleman, he scores twelve years and then some, because this is his interpretation: "The husband is going away because his wife goes with other mens."

George Washington leaving for the war is a more usual response to this picture. Johnny's, less noble, is also less remote in its inspiration. In fact, it is home brew. Johnny is an O'Reilly. His mother is a janitress, and has eight children and one tooth. Her husband is unemployed. Next door to the O'Reillys live the Murphys. The Murphys have five children. Mr. Murphy is unemployed. Mrs. Murphy also is a janitress. In one way or another, Mrs. O'Reilly, with her one tooth and eight children and $80 rent collected from tenants and not turned over to the landlord, effectively captivated Mr. Murphy, and the two of them eloped, deserting mates and minors until the $80 and the romance came to a simultaneous conclusion two months later. During this A. W. O. L. period the deserted spouses managed their flocks in their own fashion. The Murphy children gave no evidence of a hiatus in their

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household. But poor Mr. O'Reilly's offspring, despite his earnest efforts, came dribbling into school at all hours, unkempt, dirty. It made it no easier for the distracted father that one of the children was feeble-minded and one crippled.

When Mrs. O'Reilly returned home she was greeted with such ardor as she had never in her married life experienced. But Mr. Murphy met a door shut resolutely in his face. His wife had learned a lesson. It had been demonstrated to her satisfaction that it was easier to get along without Mr. Murphy than with him. The little Murphys clamored for "Father" at sight of him. She admitted that this was true but not important.

So goes love in the tenements, where the ugly urgencies of life reduce bodies and spirits to their lowest common denominators while the six-year-olds look on and register.

"What is the difference between poverty and misery?" This is a routine test question to which Jimmy, twelve, clean-necked and slick of hair, answered: "Poverty is when you are poor and miserable. Misery is when you are not poor—just miserable for nothing." The answer must be scored minus, but, as I was soon to learn, so must Jimmy's life, from which the answer had sprung.

Jimmy was the last of his family I had tested in that school. They ranged from the first to the sixth grade. All of his siblings were bright. So was Jimmie. On the day I tested him, his mother had been summoned to school by his class teacher and I heard the storm of complaints with which she was greeted: "Jimmy is the sore spot in the class—fresh, lazy, sullen, tardy every day." This and much more the teacher poured into the mother's ear, throwing in a reference to Jimmy's recent appearance in Juvenile Court to explain a stolen purse.

"Jimmy is my nicest child at home," the mother spoke up in her turn. "If there is an errand to do the others will try to put it off on someone else; Jimmy runs to do it. Jimmy does the dishes every night. Jimmy knows I feel sick a lot. I am pregnant again. Jimmy is always telling the others to be quieter and to be good. I am sorry he is bad at school. He is my nicest child at home." She added that he had confessed to his father that his gang had taken the pocket-book, but he refused to tell who had done it; his father had taken him to court to make an example of him. "Jimmy is always honest," she finished. This the school had found out, but Jimmy's softer side was news.

A home visit disclosed an absolutely clean and bare home—dark, crowded, crushing in its gloom. To smile or laugh in it is simply unthinkable. Jimmy's mother is overworked as janitress. The father gets odd jobs when he can. He is a stern disciplinarian, a decent man according to his lights, bowed down by his own failure as provider and by the burdens of his mounting family. One child has a tubercular eye; all except Jimmy appear wan and undernourished. There are eight of them now and another coming. The mother has acute diabetes. She says calmly, "It will be fatal for me to have this child in my condition." She seems relieved at the thought.

At the clinic which she attends for diabetic treatment, she was told that it would be dangerous for her to become pregnant again. She and her husband are Catholics; yet they were eager to cooperate in a plan whereby they might limit the only surplus heaven had ever sent them. The hospital referred Jimmy's mother to a Catholic physician for instruction on birth-control technique. She explained her case to the doctor. This is what happened.

"Are you a Catholic?" the doctor asked.

"Yes."

"You know what our church teaches?"

"I was sent here by the clinic because I have diabetes and must not have any more children. I have had fifteen children and eight are living. I am only forty."

"You are a Catholic."

"But I was not born a Catholic. I only became one after I married."

"That makes no difference. The holy church to which you belong forbids birth control."

So was her sixteenth pregnancy indorsed by the church.

And somehow or other, the months rolled by and Jimmy's mother did not die, but gave birth to a fifth son. The hospital records that this was the first child in its history born of an acutely diabetic mother who did not die. But—one more? What of this newest little Jimmy? He wears the clothes that the school principal has begged from charity. He suckles from a mother exhausted and embittered. What will he eat when she is dry? What chance has he? "Poverty is when you are poor and miserable. Misery is when you are not poor—just miserable for nothing." I believe Jimmy knew what he meant.

Whenever a child in a poor-neighborhood school comes to me for examination these days looking clean and well-fed, I hazard the guess that he lives in an institution. Usually it is so. I make it a point to ask these children, "Where did you like it better, in your own home, or in this home?" With few exceptions the preference is for the institution. "I get more to eat now." "I have more children to play with." "I go swimming on Saturdays." "We go to camp in the summer."

"I like home better," one fat little boy with an I.Q. of 80 (very dull) told me, "because the food here is lousy."

"What did you have for breakfast"? I asked.

"Aw—orange juice and eggs and cocoa and toast."

Mildly I suggested that was a very nice breakfast.

"Lousy," the boy insisted. "If I was home now by my mother, I'd get pancakes and coffee."

"Do you think you'd be so strong as you are now?" I tried.

"Aw, my father ate coffee and pancakes all his life and he was a cop till he died."

"What language do you speak at home?" I asked one little girl, whose vocabulary score was particularly low.

"English," she answered.

"Nothing but English?"

"Oh, Italian too. My father always curses my mother in Italian."

"Curse means to curse your mother. To say dirty words at her—but not me doesn't," one little colored girl confided to me when I asked her to tell me the meaning of the word. Then she added with gusto: "My father don't live with my mother—but he comes and sees us sometimes. Then he always gets awful mad and hollers and curses."

"Why? What makes him mad?"

"When my ma asks him for money, he gets awful mad. He says that's all she thinks of when she sees him."

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"What does health mean?" One sleepy-eyed youngster who sold newspapers till midnight and was over-inclined to doze in school answered thus: "Health is like my teacher says. My teacher says, 'Do you think I am screaming for my health?'"

One dull gawky boy of thirteen, dirty, unkempt, smelly, did not get his worldly notions from school, or from his home, or from his father who worked on a garbage heap. In his moronic person the power of the films will be forever crystallized for me.

I put to him the test question, "What's the thing for you to do before beginning something very important?" The answer came, "Tell the butler not to disturb me."

It might have been the same lad, but it wasn't, who proved the efficacy of the New Deal ballyhoo.

To the question, "What is the difference between a president and a king?" he replied, "A king is bad. He has an army and kills people. A president is good. He cures the depression."

As to the end of the depression, consider this for a long-range estimate by one bright ten-year-old. Asked, "What are you going to be when you grow up?" he answered, "Unemployed."

Plus or minus and how much? The psychologist retires. Let the vocational-guidance experts score that one—and learn some of the facts of life in the process.

The Intelligent Traveler

By JOHN ROTHSCHILD

More Outstanding Tours

A TRIP through Mexico conducted by Dr. C. W. Weiant will emphasize little-known rural districts, the centers of Indian culture, and sites of great archaeological discoveries—untraveled territory for the average visitor to Mexico. Dr. Weiant has lived, studied, and worked in Mexico, in the villages as well as in the capital. The entire trip from New York and back lasts forty days; much of the travel will be by motor car. The rate is $425, first class throughout. The party is limited to twelve members. Address Dr. C. W. Weiant, 55 West Forty-second Street, New York.

A Jewish Youth Tour of Palestine has been arranged under the sponsorship of a committee of prominent Zionists here and abroad. On shipboard Moses Feinstein will lecture on modern Hebrew literature and Jewish history, and there will be a conversation course in Hebrew. The rate is $360, third class on the ocean. The thirty-six-day stay in Palestine may be shortened to twenty-one days and the time saved spent in Egypt; the cost is the same. Address Rosen Palestine-Oriental Tours, 122 Fifth Avenue, New York.

A party of physicians and their families will visit Soviet Union health resorts and other medical institutions this summer and attend some of the sessions of the International Physiological Congress. There are several rates; the lowest, third class throughout, is $408.50, for nineteen days in Russia. The ocean crossing includes a voyage through the Mediterranean. Address Amalgamated Bank Travel Department, 11 Union Square, New York.

A group of American dancers will study during July at the Mary Wigman School of the Dance in Dresden. The tour is under the leadership of Virginia Stewart, who has arranged two previous dance tours, and is herself a dancer, teacher, and writer on the modern dance. The rate, including travel expenses third class, most living expenses, and tuition in the school is $285. Address Virginia Stewart, 1400 South Santa Anita Drive, Arcadia, California.

A travel opportunity for girls under college age is "Guests in Europe," arranged under the joint auspices of student and cultural organizations here and abroad. Several alternative routes through Europe are offered. A week at a European student vacation center affords opportunity to live and play with foreign students. Of several choices, a typical tour of nearly seven weeks costs $473, third class. Address The Open Road, 8 West Fortieth Street, New York.

European Travel Organizations

Sometimes the unattached traveler wearies of his splendid isolation and wants to throw in his lot with other travelers—not fellow-Americans. There are opportunities if he knows where to find them, and they are generally very inexpensive. The Workers' Travel Association, a non-commercial organization affiliated with the British Labor Party, gives great value for the money. It has no snob appeal; standards of travel are simple. The W. T. A. arranges all sorts of tours, week-ends, and holiday trips in Great Britain as well as on the Continent. For example: "A camping holiday in skiff or punt on the River Thames from Whitsun to the end of September" for two pounds five shillings a week. The Head Office is at Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1.

The National Union of Students of England and Wales arranges inexpensive walking, hiking, and cycling trips, as well as regular tours, on the Continent with foreign students as guides and hosts. The N. U. S.'s best-developed service is in Austria, where the outdoors is so inviting. American students may join one of the British groups by applying to the National Union of Students, 3 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. Those who prefer to throw in their lot with students of other nationalities may do so by getting in touch with the organization in Austria which collaborates with the N. U. S. in its arrangements for British students. Address Amt für Studentenwanderungen, Schreyvogelgasse 3, Vienna 1, Austria.

Events Worth Remembering

The best festivals, pardons, processions, and other folk celebrations occur unadvertised, and their exact dates depend upon the harvest and the weather. If a visitor has luck he may stumble on village festivities almost any Sunday by driving out into rural Germany, Austria, Italy, France. But some fixed events occur each summer which carry great interest for the traveler. A few are indicated below.

Brussels World Exhibition, featuring communication, transport, electricity, and radio-electricity, as well as colonial exhibitions. Art exhibitions include paintings from the fifteenth century.

Malvern Festival, England, July 29 to August 24. Plays: Bernard Shaw's "The Simpleton of the Unexpected Isles," Ben Jonson's "Volpone," Bernard Shaw's "Fanny's First Play," Arthur Pinero's "Trelawney of the Wells," Bernard Shaw's "Misalliance," and "1066 and All That," book and lyrics by Reginald Arkell, music by Alfred Reynolds.

Eleventh Haslemere Festival, Surrey, England, July 22 to August 3. Music from the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century played on contemporary instruments. The festival is under the direction of the famous Dolmetsch family, makers of old instruments.

Two-hundred-fifteenth meeting of the Three Choirs Festival, in the Worcester Cathedral, England, September 1 to 6. Choir recital, orchestra and chamber-music concerts.

English Folk Dance Festivals. Information on times and places may be obtained from the English Folk Dance and Song Society, Cecil Sharp House, 2 Regent's Park Road, N.W.1, London.

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Open-Air performances of "William Tell," Interlaken, Switzerland, July 7, 14, 21, 28; August 4, 11, 18, 25; September 1, 8.

Open-Air performances in the Antique Theatre at Carcassone, France, July 13-15, in celebration of the French Independence Day.

Festivals on the Grand Canal, Venice, June 16 and again November 1. The celebrations, part sacred and part secular, commemorate the deliverance of the city from plagues.

Biennial International Art Exhibition, Venice, includes painting, theater, cinema, music, and classical dancing. All summer.

Theater Festival in Moscow, September 1-10. The program includes productions at the Children's Theater, Puppet Theater, ballet; the sensational "Lady Macbeth of Mensk," an opera which aroused great interest when performed here; Kirshon's "City of Winds," "Egyptian Nights," and other outstanding plays of the Russian theater.

Correspondence

The *American Mercury* Strike

To the Editors of The Nation:

Because of the Supreme Court's recent decision on the NRA codes, the National Labor Relations Board has dismissed the case of the Office Workers' Union against the *American Mercury*. While this ends the matter officially, the publisher and editor of the magazine, believing that their position in this dispute has been misrepresented throughout, feel it their duty to make a complete statement of the true facts concerning the strike recently called by some of their employees.

The only issue in the strike, from the *Mercury's* point of view, has been the right of its editor to dismiss a confidential employee who had, in his opinion, proved unsatisfactory. The strikers, however, have alleged that they walked out (a) because two of their number were discharged for union activities, and (b) because certain demands they made were not met. An examination of the facts reveals the complete inaccuracy of these allegations.

The charge that two employees were dismissed because of union activities becomes absurd when account is taken of the following:

1. One of the employees, the secretary of the publisher, resigned five days before the strike, and her resignation was accepted.

2. In testimony before the Regional Labor Board, and now of record, the strikers admitted that they had never informed the owners of the *Mercury* of the existence of the union prior to April 29, twenty-four hours before the walkout. It was also testified that the union had been formed in secret, and that no employee other than those who struck knew of its existence until that date.

3. Documentary proof exists in the office of the New York *Times* that on April 26 the editor of the *Mercury* sent to the *Times* an advertisement seeking a "secretary-stenographer for a magazine editor." The employee who was discharged—allegedly for union activities—was the only secretary-stenographer in the office of the editor. It is therefore obvious that this employee could not have been dismissed for union activities, an advertisement for her successor having been inserted in the *Times* three days before the publisher or editor, according to the strikers' own testimony, knew of the existence of the union.

The second allegation, that all the strikers' demands were refused by the publisher, also proves inaccurate in view of the following facts:

1. The strikers stated that they were fighting for a minimum wage of $21 a week. The truth is that only one permanent and one temporary subscription clerk received $17. The other employees received from $21 to $35. Although a $17 wage was above the NRA minimum and above that paid by most publications for similar work, the *Mercury* agreed to establish a minimum of $21. The lowest salary now being paid by the magazine is $21.

2. The strikers stated that they were fighting for two weeks' vacation with pay. The truth is that on presentation of this demand the shop committee was told that their demand was unnecessary because all employees were to be given two weeks' summer vacation with full pay instead of the one week with pay and one without allowed them last year by the former owners of the magazine. The present staff of the *Mercury* will be given vacations this summer on the new basis.

3. The strikers stated that they were fighting for the restoration of pay cuts. The truth is that since the present owners of the *Mercury* bought the magazine in January, 1935, there have been no pay cuts. The last reduction was made by the former owners in April, 1933. In spite of universally unfavorable business conditions, an increase was given to most members of the staff in January, 1934.

4. The strikers stated that they were fighting for recognition of their union and for the principle of collective bargaining. The truth is that when the existence of a union in his office was announced to the publisher, he replied that the *Mercury* would recognize the union and would deal with the shop committee.

These are the incontrovertible facts.

Readers of *The Nation* at this point may well inquire, "Then what was the strike all about?" It is sufficient to reply that the suddenness with which the strike was called, the unfairness of its grounds, the vehemence with which it was pressed, and the impossibilty of effecting a settlement in its early stages confirm the owners' belief that a radical group fomented this trouble in an effort to damage the *Mercury* because of its recent swing back from the extreme left position of its last editor to the liberalism which had always been its tradition in the past.

The *Mercury* will continue its liberal policy, regardless of such attacks, whether they come from the extreme left or from the extreme right.

Lawrence E. Spivak, Publisher
New York, June 7 Paul Palmer, Editor

The Labor Board's Decision

[In connection with the foregoing letter, the findings and recommendations of the Regional Labor Board are of interest despite the fact that the recent Supreme Court decision against the NRA has rendered their enforcement impossible. We print them herewith.—Editors The Nation.]

Findings of Fact

On March 27, 1935, the seven employees of American Mercury, Inc., joined the Office Workers' Union and elected a shop committee consisting of James Coffey and Edith Lustgarten. On Monday, April 29, at 9:30 a. m. this committee presented the business manager and owner of the company, Mr. Lawrence E. Spivak, with a letter setting forth various proposals and making known to the employer the unionization of the staff. These proposals covered vacations, wages, re-

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striction of pay cuts, and a demand for recognition of the union. Mr. Spivak asked for time to consider the proposals, which was granted, and the committee returned the following morning. Mr. Spivak then informed the committee that Edith Lustgarten and Leah Epstein were discharged and that he would discuss the proposals with the other workers only after the committee had reported these two discharges to the union membership and upon condition that there would be no discussion of the discharges of Miss Lustgarten and Miss Epstein. He gave the committee forty-five minutes in which to decide if they wished to resume negotiations on that basis.

The workers refused to accept the discharges of their two coworkers, and a strike was called in which all seven employees participated. On May 2 the strikers sent a letter to Mr. Spivak asking for an opportunity to "discuss the reinstatement of the two girls you dismissed, our demands which you yourself said to Mr. Coffey were reasonable, and recognition of the union under Section 7-a of the NIRA."

Later that day Mr. Spivak addressed the following letter to the seven workers: "In spite of your actions, which are hardly compatible with loyalty, I will see Miss Lustgarten and Mr. Coffey, whom you named as your committee, at 5:45 this afternoon." At the appointed time Miss Lustgarten and Mr. Coffey appeared outside Mr. Spivak's office. With them was Miss Gertrude Lane, an organizer for the Office Workers' Union whom they had selected to bargain for them. Mr. Spivak refused to receive the shop committee with Miss Lane, despite their explanation that the employees had all asked that she be present at the conference. Upon his unequivocal refusal to receive the committee with Miss Lane, who was the chosen representative of the workers, the committee left. Repeated efforts of the Regional Labor Board to mediate in the strike have been unavailing.

At the hearing before the Board on May 8 the employers defended the charges of violation of Section 7-a in the discharge of Edith Lustgarten and Leah Epstein, and the refusal to bargain collectively with the chosen representatives of the employees on the following grounds:

1. That the employers had determined on Wednesday, April 25, to discharge Miss Lustgarten and had inserted an advertisement in the New York *Times* of April 28 seeking to replace her. Neither Miss Lustgarten nor Miss Epstein had been informed that this "ad" was being placed.

2. That Miss Epstein had virtually resigned her position in the week prior to the strike.

3. That they had only consented to see the two members of the shop committee on May 2 and the introduction of Miss Lane was unexpected, and that, furthermore, they did not know who she was.

The testimony disclosed that Miss Lustgarten had been in the employ of the firm for twelve years, working practically all of that time under three different editors, all of whom have informed the board that she was competent, adaptable, devoted, and had executed her manifold duties to their satisfaction. Her present employer, Mr. Paul Palmer, stated at the hearing that he had given her no previous intimation that her work was unsatisfactory, other than occasionally returning letters to be corrected.

Miss Epstein, who had been in the employ of the firm for six years with increasing responsibilities, had offered her resignation to Mr. Spivak on April 26 as a result of some friction between them, but the following day he offered to cooperate with her if she would do likewise. Miss Epstein construed this as a basis of understanding as a result of which her resignation was no longer in effect. There had never been any complaint about her work.

The union argues that the advertisement of April 28 from which the names of the employers were omitted, and of which neither Miss Lustgarten nor Miss Epstein was notified, in no way mitigates the circumstances under which they were notified of their discharge on April 30, the day after their union membership and demands were made known to the employers. The insistence of the employers that these two discharges be accepted before any negotiations be entered upon with the remaining employees is not offset by the advertisement, which in any event may be properly construed as applying only to Miss Epstein. The expressed willingness of the management at the hearing to deal with the union is not in harmony with the singularly inept and antagonistic statement released to the press by Mr. Palmer on the day of the strike, which he stated still represents his views.

Findings

1. The American Mercury, Inc., discharged Edith Lustgarten and Leah Epstein on April 29 under circumstances which can only be interpreted as a threat to the other union employees and was a violation of Section 7-a, as embodied in the Graphic Arts Code.

2. The refusal by the firm on May 2 to receive the shop committee when they were accompanied by the union representative, Miss Lane, constitutes a further violation of Section 7-a.

Recommendations

To restore a condition in harmony with the law the board recommends:

1. That Edith Lustgarten and Leah Epstein, together with the other five employees on strike, be reinstated immediately to their former positions without prejudice and with back pay to April 30, even though such reinstatement necessitates the discharge of employees engaged since the strike.

2. That the Office Workers' Union be recognized as the collective-bargaining agency and that every effort be made by negotiations between the American Mercury, Inc., and the Office Workers' Union to adjust all grievances of the employees.

Enforcement

Unless the Regional Labor Board receives written notification from the American Mercury, Inc., within three days from date hereof that the above recommendations have been complied with, the case will be forwarded to the National Labor Relations Board for appropriate action.

Paul Brissenden, Chairman
Howard S. Cullman, Employer Panel
Mary S. Dreier, Labor Panel

The New Deal and Its Critics

To the Editors of The Nation:

May I make a suggestion—a "constructive" one, if you please—in connection with your articles and editorials on the New Deal? It is this—that you tell us, in each case of any importance, what the point of view of the writer is. You tell us that so-and-so has written a book, is a contributor to magazines, a newspaper correspondent, and the like. But this, though interesting, is hardly important. The position or attitude of the writer, on the other hand, is obviously quite important.

Take Mr. Ward and his attacks on the New Deal and its champions or administrators. His article on Miss Perkins was very offensive, and I imagine you have received many protests against its flippancy, unfairness, and vulgarity. The distinguished social workers I know have great respect for Miss Perkins and believe her to be capable, sincere, and genuinely liberal. Mr. Ward peddled malicious gossip concerning her, and we are entitled to ask what his sources of information really were.

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Mr. Ward's articles on Secretary Wallace and Mr. Hopkins are, of course, wholly pointless. Too bad the Secretary is a vegetarian and a religious mystic; but what has that to do with his persistent advocacy of tariff reduction, his able championship of agriculture, his denunciation of plutocracy? Mr. Hopkins has little to do with policy-making; he is a social worker of breadth and vision, and just what Mr. Ward complains of in his case is not clear to anyone who has a wholesome regard for facts. In fine, Mr. Ward is ill-tempered, sensational, and irresponsible. He has thrown no light whatever on the problems and contradictions of the New Deal. He has played into the hands of the bourbons and the sham "rugged individualists." Such tactics are unpardonable in one who professes advanced liberalism and would like to see more vigor, consistency, and courage in the White House.

The New Deal has much to answer for in respect of labor, the consumers, and the little fellows in business. That will be granted by every intelligent liberal. But not all the bitter critics of the New Deal are advanced liberals, or sensible radicals, or consistent and dogmatic Communists. Many of them are reactionaries and fanatical bourbons. Is Mr. Ward writing as a liberal, a radical, or an admirer of Hoover economics?

We don't expect the plutocrats and their servants and tools to like the New Deal, and we know that the Communists and Socialists do not like it. From enlightened and fair-minded liberals or practical and constructive radicals we have the right to expect sane, legitimate, balanced criticism, some appreciation of the difficulties faced by the Administration, a sense of reality and of proportion. Mr. Ward exhibits none of these qualities. *The Nation* is not the *New Masses* or a rabid tory organ; and it should treat the New Deal and the Roosevelt tactics and methods with common sense and a decent regard for the principles of clean controversy.

Chicago, April 12 VICTOR S. YARROS

Gary Cooper's Hussars

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

Since the appearance of my article on the Hollywood Hussars in *The Nation* for May 29 I have been advised by Gary Cooper that he has withdrawn from that organization. Mr. Cooper told me that the character of the Hollywood Hussars was grossly misrepresented to him at the time that he consented to be "founder."

Upon investigaton into the real purposes and function of the organizaton he immediately withdrew his membership and support.

Los Angeles, May 29 CAREY MCWILLIAMS

Anti-Semitism on the Kungsholm

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

In your issue of March 20 there was a letter concerning anti-Semitism on the Swedish-American liner Kungsholm.

I was a passenger on the cruise which terminated March 11, 1935. I am a Jew. During this cruise I observed none of the conditions which "Traveler" describes. The Jews were not allotted a section in the dining-room but were distributed freely.

Staterooms were assigned without regard to race. In the various sports conducted aboard ship, Jews competed freely with everyone else entered in the events.

May I add that I found both the cruise directors and the Gentile passengers free from any manifestations of race prejudice?

New York, April 5 LEONARD S. KANDELL

A 3-Way Guide: TELLS, SHOWS, EXPLAINS:

SEX PRACTICE *in* MARRIAGE

By C. B. S. Evans, M.D., F.A.M.A., Member White House Conference, Committee on Maternal Care, Washington—Introduction by R. W. Holmes, M.D., F.A.C.S., Professor of Obstetrics, Northwestern University Medical School—Prefatory and other notes by Norman Haire, Ch.M., M.B., Specializing Obstetrician, Gynecologist and Sexologist, London, England

— *and* —

CHARTS OF SEX ORGANS WITH DETAILED EXPLANATIONS

By ROBERT L. DICKINSON, M.D., F.A.C.S., Senior Gynecologist and Obstetrician, Brooklyn Hospital

CONTENTS

Section I. Bride and Groom
Section II. The Cold Wife–Frigidity
Section III. The Unsatisfied Wife
Section IV. Married Courtship
Section V. The Perfect Physical Expression of Love
Section VI. Illustrative Charts and Explanations

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Labor and Industry

The Ladies' Auxiliary

By HEYWOOD BROUN

SINCE this seems to be the open season for making suggestions to the American Federation of Labor and other trade-union groups, I have a pet project of my own which I should like to present. It has no merit of novelty. I am only asking unionists to follow the set-up established by scores of large fraternal and religious organizations in this country. The practice which I have in mind must be acceptable to the American temper because it has long endured and been highly successful. I think, in all seriousness, that the A. F. of L. should undertake to organize the wives of union members into some sort of auxiliary organization.

Naturally I am not referring to the thousands of women who are active members of some union or other, although I believe that in spite of recent changes the labor movement in this country has given insufficient recognition to women in the matter of leadership. I also think there has been a lag in organizing industries where the workers are predominantly female. I think of houseworkers specifically, and to a lesser extent the same criticism can be made in regard to the unionizing of office workers. The teachers' union, also, should be much larger.

But these are irrelevant points. What I am speaking of is the organizing of women who keep the home while the trade-union husband works at his craft and is the wage-earner of the family. Surely nobody will deny that the vital factor in a strike is not the striker himself but the striker's wife or the striker's mother. The burden of the battle falls upon those members of the family who put the supper on the table. Naturally I am not ignoring the superb courage which these women have manifested in all the great labor struggles of the country. Not only have they managed to eke out existence with limited resources, or none at all, but they have served on the picket line and spoken at strike meetings to encourage the faint-hearted. In many a strike definite organization of the wives of the men has been accomplished.

But for the most part such set-ups have been temporary. To some extent the woman in the case is asked to take the strike on faith alone. Her husband believes that the cause is right and just and that the time has arrived when the militant move must be made. In too many cases it is considered that this is all she needs to know. This particular proletarian woman is asked to keep her labor knowledge and her labor views solely in her husband's name. I speak of course of the "women's auxiliary" as no mere device for arranging reception committees and attending to other trivia. Labor education on a large scale ought to be conducted for workers' wives. They should have a right to representation at union meetings. Certainly they deserve a voice when strike votes are taken or when new offers or settlements are up for consideration. The miner's wife or the newspaper reporter's wife knows a great deal better than he does just what a cut of $5 a week is going to mean in the family budget. The question of working hours is of vital importance to her since it so directly affects the entire schedule of the home.

I wish that in mentioning the "reporter's wife" I could say that this was a problem which the Newspaper Guild had solved. Parenthetically I might add that when a woman reporter happens to be the chief breadwinner I think that there might well be some sort of auxiliary to which her husband could belong. In several cities valuable Guild members have been lost because of pressure at home. Indeed, the phrase "a Guild wife" is generally employed by us to indicate somebody who is not too enthusiastic about the entire proposition. And I think that the blame lies less with the "Guild wife" than with the Guild itself. It has not created adequate machinery to acquaint these persons who have a vital stake in Guild activities with the reasons for the organization and its purposes. I know of one Guild wife who met her husband with a jaundiced eye when he came home quite justifiably late after a long and stormy session of the representative assembly in New York. "What does this Guild of yours ever do except meet?" she wanted to know.

It seems to me that the question was a fair one. Many a trade-unionist returns to his loved ones after really important discussion has been heard and action taken and parries their questions. "Well, what happened at the meeting tonight?" the wife of the member inquires. "Oh, just some routine business," he answers. "You wouldn't understand."

Old snobberies and misconceptions which once kept the white-collar worker from taking his proper and needful part in the labor movement are rapidly going down under the flood of facts and the channeling of reason. But this diffidence and false pride may still exist in some white-collar homes. The white-collar wife very often has been denied the chances of education which her husband has had in the laboratory of practical experience. One of the best results of the Newark strike was that it gave an opportunity for the wives of reporters to learn first hand what the fight was all about and the practical necessities which it entailed. The strike committee has testified that out of this group came help of a sort which was invaluable.

Any kind of auxiliary organization which is formed should naturally arrange for contacts with other groups. Newspaper work is only a small section of the labor movement. And that goes for other so-called white-collar groups. I trust that in another year or so the phrase will disappear. It is not helpful since its connotation is a snobbish one. I am prepared to say, speaking for myself and others, that I never noticed that the collars of reporters were particularly white. Still, for the sake of convenience and lacking any other label, I am saying that organizations of white-collar wives should for their own understanding and education be eager to hear the testimony of miners' wives and printers' wives and bricklayers' wives as to the manner in which they are affected by labor problems.

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To be sure there are Guild wives who are already far ahead of anything which I have suggested. They tell of one who sat up to hear the news her husband would bring home concerning a strike vote which was to be taken by his newspaper unit. When he returned after midnight she said, "Well, did you vote to strike?"

"No," he replied a little ruefully, "we were talked into accepting a compromise."

"Well, good night to you," said this founding member of the women's auxiliary, "but as far as I'm concerned I should much prefer to have you take the spare bedroom at the end of the hall. Good night!"

The Wagner Labor-Disputes Bill

By JOEL SEIDMAN

THE decision of the United States Supreme Court holding the NIRA unconstitutional has intensified labor's fight for the Wagner labor-disputes bill, which has already passed the Senate and has been favorably reported to the House. The effect of the Schechter decision, however, will be to confine the application of the Wagner bill, if it is passed, to the narrow field of interstate commerce. This will deprive the vast bulk of workers in intrastate commerce and the service trades of any benefits under the bill. Very few workers will be at all affected, and, of these, the railroad workers already enjoy rights superior to those contained in the Wagner proposal. Within these narrow limits the bill seeks (1) to reestablish and make permanent the right to organize and bargain collectively contained in Section 7-a of the NIRA; (2) to embody in permanent legislation some of the better interpretations of that vague and loosely worded section made by the old National Labor Board and later by the National Labor Relations Board; (3) to establish majority rule; and (4) to provide means for prompt and effective enforcement.

The Wagner bill provides prompt enforcement by empowering the board to issue orders similar to those put out by the Federal Trade Commission. Such orders, if disobeyed, may be filed by the board with the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, along with a transcript of the case. The board's findings as to facts, if supported by the evidence, are to be conclusive. Judgment of the Circuit Court can be reviewed only by the United States Supreme Court. So much for the good intentions of the bill. Let us now examine what has been omitted and see whether any provisions can be twisted against labor by unscrupulous administrators or judges.

The most important portion of the bill is Section 7, which defines unfair labor practices. Subsection 1 makes it an unfair labor practice for an employer to "interfere with, restrain, or coerce" employees in the exercise of their rights to organize or bargain collectively. The difficulty here is that "interference," "restraint," and "coercion" are not defined. Does a lockout constitute coercion? Is the employment of strike-breakers restraint? Is it "interference" if spies are placed in the ranks of the workers, or thugs hired during a strike? May injunctions still be obtained, and the police ordered to beat up pickets? Workers know that all of these constitute interference, if not coercion, but our reactionary courts may think differently.

The next section forbids an employer "to dominate or interfere with the formation or administration of any labor organization or contribute financial or other support to it." This provision, aimed at the company union, is likewise weak, for the courts will probably distinguish between influence and domination, and between advice and interference, and will hold that influence and advice are legal. The extent to which Senator Wagner has compromised on this issue is shown by comparing this section with the much stronger provision of his first bill, introduced March 1, 1934. That draft made it illegal for the employer "to initiate, participate in, supervise, or influence the formation, constitution, by-laws, other governing rules, operations, policies, or elections of any labor organization." Short of abolishing the company union, that proposal went as far as possible. The present one is relatively harmless. What labor really wants, of course, is to have the company union as such made illegal. This would present a minor problem in drafting, for the company union must be outlawed without at the same time outlawing a bona fide union operating in only one plant. The proper wording could be worked out by capable attorneys.

The next provision forbids "discrimination in regard to hire or tenure of employment or any term or condition of employment to encourage or discourage membership in any labor organization." The difficulty with this provision is in proving that a worker who broke a minor rule is actually being fired for union activity; or that, when work is slack, the persons laid off are actually selected because of their union sympathies. In an open shop if a union worker is fired or laid off, that should establish a presumption that union activity was the cause; and the worker should be reinstated unless the employer can conclusively prove that union membership or activity was in no way concerned. There is also the question of the reinstatement of strikers, which is not mentioned in the present bill. The rule as applied by the Labor Relations Board was that they should be reinstated if the employer had violated his obligation to bargain collectively before the strike was called. At least this much should be retained. As the Wagner bill now reads, the board may decide this point against labor—and the courts almost certainly will so decide it.

Another provision makes it an unfair practice for the employer "to refuse to bargain collectively with the representatives of his employees." Once more the language is too vague, for no definition of collective bargaining is attempted. Here again the original Wagner bill contained a much better provision. It made it an unfair practice for an employer to "refuse to recognize and/or deal with representatives of his employees, or to fail to exert every reasonable effort to make and maintain agreements with such representatives concerning wages, hours, and other conditions of employment." In the case of the Connecticut Coke Com-

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The Nation

Exposes Fascism—

Mr. Gary Cooper Resigns From Hollywood Hussars

In the issue of May 29, The Nation published "Hollywood Plays With Fascism" in which Carey McWilliams exposed the new fascist organizations sponsored by Gary Cooper and other Hollywood heroes.

The Los Angeles Post-Record of May 30 contained the following news item:

Gary Cooper, hero of the papier mache battlements, has lain aside his fur shako, his flowing dolman, his glittering saber, his steel-tipped lance with gaily fluttering pennon, and has got down off his horse.

He has withdrawn from the Hollywood Hussars.

This is a blow to the Hollywood Hussars, for the daring soldier of the location deserts of Hermosa Beach and the battlefields of Burbank has been represented in Hussar recruiting publicity as the founder. This publicity hardly jibes with the statement by Cooper upon his retirement from Hollywood military life. He said:

"When I was first approached about this organization, it was represented to me as a select Hollywood social group, devoted to equestrian sports. Shortly after that, I learned it was developing into an institution of national scope with political leanings. Being interested only in sportsmanship and not at all in politics, I had my name removed from the rolls of the organization."

Recent articles in the Post-Record revealed to the public the existence in Hollywood of several organizations of a military nature. . . .

Following publication of these facts in the Post-Record, Carey McWilliams wrote an article that appeared in The Nation, a liberal magazine of wide circulation, this week, under the title, "Hollywood Plays With Fascism."

Resignation of Cooper followed closely upon publication of these articles.

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pany, the old National Labor Board thus defined the term:

> True collective bargaining involves more than the holding of conferences and the exchange of pleasantries. It is not limited to the settlement of specific grievances. Wages, hours, and conditions of employment may properly be the subject of negotiation and collective bargaining. While the law does not compel the parties to reach agreement, it does contemplate that both parties will approach the negotiations with an open mind and will make a reasonable effort to reach a common ground of agreement.

The board also held that the failure to reduce the agreement to writing was evidence of an unwillingness to bargain collectively.

The bill authorizes the board to investigate controversies and certify to the parties the names of the designated representatives "whenever a question affecting commerce arises concerning the representation of employees." This wording permits the employer to file a case, or the board to act on its own initiative. The current rules are much better, for they assert that only the workers can bring a case before the board. With an unfriendly board the unions will be constantly on the defensive, whereas in the past they appeared before the board only when they desired the board to assume jurisdiction. The power given to the board "to investigate such controversy" before certifying the names of the selected representatives opens the door to all types of control over internal policy.

The bill contains a clause legalizing the closed union shop, provided a majority of the workers desire it. The bill would be considerably improved, however, if it expressly provided that in cases where a majority of the workers desired a closed shop, the employer was bound to concede it.

The proposed board is given exclusive power to prevent any person from engaging in any unfair labor practice. This is far better than the chaotic system of independent and equally impotent boards recently in effect. There is some danger, however, in the use of "person" instead of "employer." The board, similarly, is given the needed power to compel the appearance of witnesses and the production of documents. Here again an element of danger is present, for in unfriendly hands this power might permit an inquisition into internal union affairs.

Section 13 of the bill provides that "nothing in this act shall be construed so as to interfere with or impede or diminish in any way the right to strike." This section must be read, however, in connection with a part of Section 1, which asserts that denial by employers of workers' rights to organize and bargain collectively leads to strikes which burden commerce. "Protection by law of the right to organize and bargain collectively removes this source of industrial unrest and encourages practices fundamental to the friendly adjustment of industrial strife," the bill states. It would be quite possible for an unfriendly board or court, taking these two sections together, to assert that a union must first resort to the board before calling a strike. Such a decision would be disastrous to labor, and could be prevented by clear, unambiguous language.

The bill, obviously, does not and cannot give workers equality of bargaining power with employers. This can be won only by the workers themselves. The chief merit of the bill is that, in a restricted field, it increases somewhat the opportunities for building strong unions.

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Books

Pareto's Sociological System

The Mind and Society. By Vilfredo Pareto. Edited by Arthur Livingston, translated by Livingston and Bongiorno. Harcourt, Brace and Company. Four Volumes. $20.

WERE Pareto alive today he would undoubtedly interpret the noisy reaction provoked by the publication of his work as a confirmation of one of his theorems. It is impossible, he holds, for most people to distinguish between an attempt to acquire knowledge of social processes and action which seeks to modify them. Like most of Pareto's theorems this states a truth at the cost of a more significant truth. So long as we do not confuse the objective implications for practice which a theory has in its relevant field with the subjective purposes in behalf of which it has been projected, the tendency to raise questions concerning the practical import of doctrine is quite healthy. For in that way the meaning of a theory is amplified, and leads are derived by which it may be put to experimental test. But whatever the practical implications of Pareto's doctrines are, they have as little to do with the theory and practice of fascism as the psychology of Pavlov, for example, has to do with the politics of the Russian government at whose hands its author has received honors and rewards. Many of Pareto's doctrines cannot be defended in Italy or Germany without bringing their professors into concentration camps. No matter how many honors Mussolini may have heaped upon Pareto *in absentia,* any talk about Pareto being the ideologist or prophetic apologist of fascism is sheer poppycock.

Pareto's work represents the most ambitious attempt of the twentieth century to construct a scientific system of sociology. "My wish is to construct a system of sociology on the model of celestial mechanics, physics, chemistry." In this brief notice I wish to state Pareto's chief claims and to raise some questions. Although I believe his work represents a brilliant failure, his errors and limitations are more instructive than many a lesser man's truths.

1. *Operationalism in Sociology.* Pareto's most abiding contribution to social thought is his demand that the experimental or operational theory of meaning be applied to a field in which for centuries sonorous phrases have concealed the absence of clear ideas. Whether it is an appeal to "natural law," "the spirit of the times," "the forces of progress," or other shibboleths of the academy or market-place, Pareto mercilessly exposes their multiple ambiguity, vagueness, and emotive connotations. He does not deny their enormous social influence. But their failure to denote specific existential patterns of behavior makes them experimentally *meaningless.* Although they may induce action, they cannot conduce to understanding. Every critical reader will enjoy the deftness with which Pareto lances the inflated proper nouns that figure in most sociological constructions. Unfortunately, Pareto himself does not adhere rigorously to his own principle. His theory of residues suffers, among other things, from his inability to isolate out of different social situations anything that fulfils the definition of a residue as an invariant predisposition to action or belief.

2. *Conception of Scientific Method.* A considerable part of Pareto's treatise is devoted to a fervent plea that the social sciences adopt the methods of the physical sciences and to an illustrative analysis of those methods. This raises two questions: whether such methodological reduction is possible, and whether Pareto's conception of the nature of scientific method is adequate.

Extending a method which he helped introduce into mathematical economics, Pareto argues for the abandonment of a simple cause-effect relation between configurations of events. Instead of saying that certain relations of production are the "cause" of a system of morals or that a determinate form of religious worship is the "effect" of a given geographical milieu, we are to replace the concept of causality with that of interdependence or functional correlation. Since the form of a society is determined by all its elements, if we can assign quantitative indices to these elements and solve the equations describing their interdependence, this would give us exhaustive knowledge of the system. Pareto admits that we cannot assign quantitative indices to the elements, and that even if we could, the equations could not be solved. He would also have to admit that if we were to make any further progress in social studies than the truism that a society is determined by all its elements, we must restrict ourselves to limited phases of social interaction, operate with specific hypotheses, and be content with piecemeal knowledge. But where shall we begin? With what hypotheses? And in what direction and at whose cost shall we experiment to test the validity of our hypotheses? And it is precisely at this point that the *normative* element in social theory, which Pareto is so anxious to extrude, enters. At the heart of every social theory, some ideal, value, or preference is to be found which determines not the truth of any body of doctrine but the selection of the central hypotheses whose truth is to be "experimentally" tested in fateful, because irreversible, action.

What strikes one over and over again in Pareto's discussion of scientific method is his underestimation of the nature and role of hypothesis. He asserts that "no study that aims at discovering some uniformity in the relation of social facts can be called useless." He holds that any historical analyses which conjecture "what would have happened had a certain event never occurred are altogether fatuous." He maintains that the assumptions of scientific method about the intelligibility of the world order do not involve any metaphysical presuppositions. These as well as many other beliefs betoken a rather smug and nearsighted empiricism. It would not be difficult to show that for purposes of solving a specific problem some uniformities between facts *must* be dismissed as irrelevant; that unless we could say what would *probably* have occurred if certain events had not taken place, we cannot pretend to understand those events; and that if we probe the basic assumptions of scientific method we uncover a whole nest of metaphysical propositions.

3. *Residues.* According to Pareto the elements which determine the form of a society may be roughly classified into three groups: physical, historical, and internal. Chief among the elements of the third group are residues—a fancy synonym for instincts. They are the most constant elements in human behavior. Specific forms of conduct (derivatives) may vary; so may the theories and beliefs which attend them (derivations). But changes both in conduct and belief are primarily determined by complexes of residues (sentiments) which remain comparatively invariant throughout history. The sociological moral to be drawn is that whoever desires to control human behavior and to make people receptive to new beliefs must appeal not to logic but to sentiment. The only thing new about this celebrated theory of residues is its ponderous classificatory subdivisions and the extravagant claims made for it. Its whole significance is summed up in a sentence tucked away in a long footnote: "The centuries roll by, human nature remains the same." Dewey's "Human Nature and Conduct" is, I suppose, the definitive refutation of this favorite theme song of all tories. It is important to observe, however, that in constructing his theory Pareto violates all the scientific cautions

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he urges upon others. Every residue is "inferred out of" a specific social and historical milieu. If they are reduced to a schedule of biological impulses, the specific *social* forms they take go begging for explanation. If residues are not biological drives, then since they are never found in a pure form but always expressed in various historical traditions, it is extremely hazardous to assert that they have the same role and significance as we go from culture to culture. It is very questionable, for example, whether there is anything in human beings which corresponds to a love of power as such. Even if there is, a love of power expressed in a desire to win a laurel wreath in Greek society is, in origin, form, and effects, sufficiently different from a desire to win a prize in the Irish sweepstakes to make us chary of classifying them under the same invariant sentiment. For all his historical erudition Pareto never took a *historical* approach to the social facts he considered. This is the fundamental weakness of all his work. He saw that history without social theory is blind. He failed to see that sociology without history is empty.

4. *Derivations.* Derivations is the technical term Pareto uses for what is popularly known as rationalization. Applied to social classes, it is what Marx called ideology. Pareto's insight into the social role of these vital lies goes deep. He attacks as the commonest fallacy of moralists and reformers the assumption that people act as they do because of the beliefs they hold. It is far truer to say that they believe as they do because of the way they behave. Truest of all, according to Pareto, is the proposition that both conduct and belief spring from the same residual root. Derivations are always present except when behavior is purely instinctive or purely logical—and that means almost all the time. Pareto's contention that most of human behavior is non-logical is sound enough. But I cannot help believing that he has underestimated the importance of the fact that men seek, find, and accept "derivations." Pareto admits, but apparently only as an afterthought, that man is a reason-finding animal, too. It should not be hard, with only a fraction of the effort Pareto consumed, to establish cases of the opposite sort, to accumulate evidence showing how "reasons" influence human behavior when physical conditions are irrelevant, historical tradition is silent, and interests and residues are deadlocked.

5. *Circulation des élites.* Pareto regards the homogeneity of society as a myth for simpletons. The simplest division Pareto recognizes is the source of one of his most interesting theories. Every society is divided into two classes—a *non-élite* which embraces the lower strata of the population and an *élite* which includes all who enjoy the fruits of recognized excellence. The élite in turn divide into a governing élite and a non-governing élite. The governing élite we always have with us. Whenever its members lack qualities of vigor, will, discipline, and readiness to use force, it recruits into its ranks the stronger members of the non-élite. If it fails to do so, the reins of power are torn from its hands by a revolution. "History is the graveyard of aristocracies." But aristocracies there will always be. Power may be taken in the name of all; its very nature is such, however, that it must be wielded by a few. Pareto seems to enjoy a grim satisfaction at the prospect. If this theory is not interpreted as an innocuous truism to the effect that there will always be leaders, it calls for at least two comments. Certain "experiments" remain to be tried which may require us to reinterpret this alleged law. These involve the separation of economic and political power, the destruction of the monopoly of higher education, and the introduction of democratic processes of control into industry. Under such conditions leadership may not involve exploitation or government rest upon special bodies of armed men. Secondly, even if the élite—the lions and foxes together—will always prey upon the sheep, there may be certain institutional safeguards regulating the number of sheep to be sacrificed and the manner of their selection. And perhaps the sheep will console themselves with the reflection that the wolves, which are sure to be around, may be worse.

One final word of tribute to the editor, Mr. Livingston. The English edition is in every way superior not merely to the French translation but to the original. A paradox? Whoever goes to these four volumes will solve it for himself.

SIDNEY HOOK

Roscoe Conkling

The Gentleman from New York: A Life of Roscoe Conkling. By Donald Barr Chidsey. Yale University Press. $4.50.

IT was more than time for a new life of Roscoe Conkling. The only previous one, by a nephew, was such a biased and passionate laudation as to be quite unworthy. This absence of other biographies of Conkling is the more remarkable because of the number of studies of the careers of other men who bulked large in the period in which Conkling made his mark on the politics of New York State and the nation. One reason has doubtless been the cold, unappealing character of the man himself. Mr. Chidsey describes him as a handsome, conceited, harsh, narrow-minded, supercilious, and haughty politician, who had "a profound hatred of publicity," who "scorned to reach for the Presidency," and who had "a genius for embroilment." He had no sense of humor, always took himself extremely seriously, despised reformers—though in the Reconstruction days he himself ranked as a radical—and was hated by most people.

On the other hand, he had a magnificent presence, was a natural-born and superb orator in the verbose and highfaluting style of his time, was the darling of womankind, whom he loved too well, was an expert pistol shot and boxer, and above all was scrupulously honest, retiring from public life "not merely poor but in debt." At all times a hard worker, he was an excellent lawyer, with an extraordinary ability to move juries to bring in the most patently unjust verdicts. Outwardly his career was just the type the American people admire most: he came from a respectable family, he was graduated from a small but excellent school, studied law, and then by his own merit rose rapidly, his career in this respect paralleling Stephen A. Douglas's very closely. Conkling was admitted to the bar when barely twenty, became district attorney of Oneida County when twenty and a half and mayor of Utica at twenty-eight, and a few months later was elected to Congress on the Republican ticket. From then on he was in a field which he adorned and adored, remaining in the House until elected Senator in 1867, which position he held until his sensational resignation in 1881.

With all his research—not too deep apparently—Mr. Chidsey throws little new light upon Conkling's career. For this Conkling himself is in part to blame, for he left practically no biographical material. His only surviving descendant does not even possess his autograph, and the Library of Congress has been unable to find any material about him. The two great periods of Conkling's career are therefore not further illuminated in the volume before us. That is a great pity, because Conkling did play a large part in what has been called the "era of hate." Moreover, Mr. Chidsey's volume is spoiled in the eyes of the reviewer because, following plenty of examples, it is written in what is meant to be a snappy newspaper style, utterly out of place in a work which aspires to be taken as serious history. This may be illustrated by the chapter headings themselves. Here are some of them: Such a Handsome Man; He Didn't Like Blaine; The Turkey-Gobbler Strut;

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Andy Fights It Out; Poor Horace Greeley. This style may help to sell the book, but it hardly gives assurance that here is the definitive life of Conkling. Nor does the following off-hand disposal of the question of the Senator's relations with the loveliest—and unhappiest—woman in Washington in Reconstruction days: "The human thing to do is to assume that these two dabbled in adultery. The safest and most sensible conclusion, however, is that they were very dear friends"—which is kindly, but hardly final.

So, too, dealing with the tremendous excitement caused by the resignation of both the Senators from New York in their quarrel with President Garfield over patronage, this volume gives us nothing new, though it restates the case clearly. Conkling's action at this time is extremely difficult to explain except on the ground that his vanity betrayed him. He apparently felt sure that he would be immediately reelected and he was not—not even though he abased himself to win back his seat. After that his political career was at an end. He had refused the Chief Justiceship and a Cabinet position, but after that defeat there was nothing left for him in political life. He returned to the law, unsullied in a dreadfully corrupt period, and practiced for seven years, profoundly dreaded by his legal opponents and respected by the whole bar, and finally died as a result of exposure in the great blizzard of 1888 when not yet sixty. It is hard to realize how great a role he played, since he left so few tangibles as a result of his long service in Washington. Nor can we realize how feeling rose to a white heat about him when Garfield was assassinated by a disappointed office-seeker and the blame was largely laid at Conkling's door. But those were days when men still had faith in the future and were not in dire economic straits.

Finally it must be stated in fairness that Mr. Chidsey has tried to hold the scales even as to his subject. He does not seek to make a hero out of him nor does he conceal any of his faults—far from it—as, for example, when he says of him: "Though financially honest, surely he was a political crook—a domineering, thundering, blundering boss, a bully, a tyrant. . . . He was essentially parochial. He was not a really great man, certainly not a great statesman." Harsh and sweeping as this statement is, it still does not convince me that this is the final judgment to be passed upon this extraordinary figure.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Jungle Odyssey

The Vortex. By José Eustasio Rivera. Translated by Earle K. James. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.50.

THIS odyssey of the South American jungles by the Colombian poet and geographer Rivera, having gone through nine Spanish editions, now appears in an English translation. The book depicts the adventures, in the pampas and in the rubber country, of a hot-blooded young poet and the woman whom he has seduced and persuaded to flee with him. The life of the cattle lands, as Rivera describes it, is lawless and primitive enough for any ten-cent movie audience, but when the scene changes to the jungles the megalopolitan reader will protest in unbelieving horror. For as man rapes the jungle, so is the jungle resentful against man, and it undermines his morals as surely as it does his health and his sanity. The pictures of wretchedness, of brutality, that Rivera draws, are difficult to credit; yet so authentic do they seem that it is impossible to doubt them.

The author does not underestimate the importance of the economic motive. It is with the hope of acquiring wealth—enough to get out of the jungle, to buy a farm, to sleep with a white woman—that workers steal and cheat and murder their companions; the same desires impel the foremen to enslave their men with crooked bookkeeping and induce the arch-knaves, the entrepreneurs, to carry on their civil wars and mass assassinations. But, Rivera remarks sardonically, nobody makes any money out of it. The price of rubber is driven so low that even the bosses are exploited. The only actual gainers are the unthinking users of rubber in the cities, the people who drive automobiles and enjoy the benefits of electricity.

The book is not a particularly well-tailored job. Some fifty pages in the middle section are narrated at second-hand by an incidental character, and, however valuable sociologically, have nothing at all to do with the main plot. The translator's experiment of rendering the pampas and jungle vernacular into American slang is not a happy one; the resulting dialogue is banal, the dropped *g's* and the *ain'ts* are frequently annoying. But these deficiencies do not impair the terrific impact of the book; its indictment of the system which produces a fundamental necessity of modern civilization strikes one like a slash across the face.

JEAN WINKLER

Clown or Comic Poet?

No Thanks. By E. E. Cummings. Gold Eagle Press. $2.

SYMPATHETIC readers of modern poetry no longer wince at the grammatical acrobatics of E. E. Cummings, at his telescoped word combinations, ritualistic use of slang, or capricious pagination. Today nobody will find these tricks either revolutionary or revolting; they are no longer expressive of a bewildering if delightful disorder but rather of a special and personal kind of order to which the instructed reader has learned to respond. But a poet does not produce most expertly, as some contend, when assured of the sympathy of his audience. Of the new poems collected in "No Thanks" only the satiric poems are up to Cummings's earlier level of performance. There are to be found in the new volume a few love poems and, as is to be expected, numerous attempts at a lyrical justification of what many people still consider unjustifiable joys; but the rhetoric in these idealizations of what is spontaneous in experience is fatally lacking in spontaneity. Only the comic poems are exciting.

Much as I admire Cummings's wit I should like to distinguish it from that of those funmakers who are not only admired but loved. Would it not be possible to distinguish the comic poet from the comedian or professional comic performer and to locate Cummings somewhere between these two types? For though it would be absurd to exclude Cummings from the company of the comic poets, it would be uncritical to ignore that peculiarity in Cummings's comic gift that separates him from them. Nor do I think Cummings would object to the distinction I have made or prefer the company of the comic poets to that of the professional comedians. His tumbling words, gyrating syntax, images of elephants, mice, balloons, clowns, and acrobats were certainly calculated to suggest the professional showman, and so too, is the emphasis he has always laid on grammatical and typographical devices of surprise. I imagine there must be profound resemblance between the experience of Mr. Cummings when meditating a verbal novelty and that of a circus manager dreaming beforetime the unveiling of a new freak. And the value of Cummings's poetry, to me at least, lies in its capacity for bringing the adult reader to that condition of curiosity, breathlessness, and lust to be astonished which a child experiences on his first visit to the circus.

A comic poet, on the other hand, is primarily a critic. His jokes are also analyses, or miraculously suggestive of

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analyses. His laughter appears to be wrenched from him by his vision of the absurd. He was not better prepared to laugh at human absurdity than other men. On the contrary he was more helpless before the spectacle of human weakness than most of us are. He did not come among us with an ideal of comic performance which in all his encounters with a defective human nature he was mainly anxious to perfect. Hence the authority of his laughter. We feel that there was no choice for him but to laugh, that his jokes are proportionate to his own need and also the measure of ours. And we sense a mathematically accurate equation between the seriousness of the human weakness he happens to be ridiculing and the perfection of his performance.

With the professional comedian we have a man who wants to make us laugh, who is capable of making us laugh, and who subjugates us to his talent. He may even reveal the most profound of human weaknesses in order to gain his effect, but it was the effect he was after, and only as a by-product of the process of gaining it did he communicate to us any certain knowledge of ourselves. With the clown we have a man with an ideal of comic performance. This is his ultimate. A better joke to the professional comedian means a longer roll of laughter, laughter on the spot which the manager can hear. And the hierarchy of his comic performances is established solely by the accidents of his sensibility.

In this connection one cannot fail to note that Mr. Cummings takes it for granted that he is simply exploiting the human weaknesses he sees, takes it for granted that his satire is equally deadly whether its object is a profound or minor frailty, and that, since to gain an effect is his ultimate, he will, in every case, be sure to do as cleverly as he can.

I would not have it appear that I am trying to build up a one-to-one correspondence between Mr. Cummings and the professional comedian. I am simply trying to underline a tendency, an emphasis in Cummings's poetry which distinguishes the experience behind it from the experience of the comic poet and relates it to the experience of the circus clown. I have no doubt extended the margin of difference between the comic poet and the clown; perhaps their similarities far exceed their differences. And if, to make this distinction, I set forward an over-idealized conception of the comic poet and his function, let it be clearly understood that I in nowise intend the category of professional comedian as a category of blame.

LIONEL ABEL

Labor's Status Today

Labor and the Government. An Investigation of the Role of the Government in Labor Relations by the Twentieth Century Fund. Alfred L. Bernheim, Director of Study. McGraw-Hill Book Company. $2.75.

THIS investigation by the Twentieth Century Fund comes at an opportune time. The use of codes as a means of protecting hours and wages has been rendered ineffective by the decision of the Supreme Court. On the other hand, the Wagner-Connery labor-disputes bill, providing for collective bargaining, has passed the Senate, and has been reported out of the Committee on Labor in the House. The Special Committee which sponsored the investigation and made the recommendations for the legislation includes William H. Davis, former compliance director of the NRA; Henry S. Dennison, formerly chairman of the Industrial Advisory Board of the NRA; and William M. Leiserson, chairman of the National Mediation Board (railroads), and formerly secretary of the National Labor Board, of which Senator Robert F. Wagner, of New York, was chairman.

The growth of trade unions and employers' associations, with the latter's resistance to collective bargaining, are briefly reviewed; company unions are analyzed in some detail; the structure and work of the labor boards are described, as well as the labor provisions of the codes; and the problems of collective bargaining and government intervention in labor disputes are discussed. Out of the tentative and confused efforts of the government to provide a machinery for settling industrial disputes, and of the last three administrations to protect and foster labor organizations without interference, a recognition has grown of the need of collective bargaining and of the correlative necessity of the majority rule. Most of the recommendations of the committee are embodied in Senator Wagner's bill. They had been independently completed at about the same time that the bill was drafted.

The analysis of company unions is illuminating. As an agency of collective bargaining a company union, irrespective of its organization or the degree to which it is controlled by the employer, is necessarily inadequate, for collective bargaining connotes diversity as well as identity of interest; and a company union lacks the bargaining strength of an independent trade union. It is isolated industrially and spiritually, tied to management, without dues or strike benefits, and, above all, represented by men who can never forget that they will lose their jobs if they bargain too vigorously. In practice company unions are usually advisory bodies, without technical help or independent leadership, unfamiliar with competing market areas, adequate only to dispose of individual grievances. And that, of course, is why they are so popular among industrialists. Most employers do not want their powers challenged or balanced by the unified strength of labor; they do not wish to deal with "outsiders"; and, above all, they are opposed to the collective bargaining which is calculated to achieve collective agreements. They do not see why anyone should dictate to them what they should "give" their employees. They are glad to listen to "individual grievances"; and company unions furnish an adequate machinery for the handling of such grievances. There is hardly an employer, summoned before the labor boards, who does not refer to his employees in their relations to him as a "happy family." Perhaps this sentimental approach is peculiar to a country which still disguises the ruthlessness of its frontier outlook in such sweetened twaddle. And the company union, like the professional strike-breaking agency, "is a phenomenon peculiar to this country."

The book summarizes the work of the various labor boards in the past two years, with their vaguely defined structure, conflicting jurisdiction, and inadequate powers. For a while the National Labor Board was successful in mediation and conciliation. Its powers to hold elections proved ineffective, since it could not subpoena payrolls; and when this power was given to its successor, the National Labor Relations Board, the employers, under the practice allowing them a right to appeal from election orders, hung up the elections in the courts. Where elections were held under the auspices of all the boards, with one exception the percentage of voting which ran in favor of the trade unions was 67.5 per cent, 30 per cent for some form of company union or employee representation plan, and 2.5 per cent for individual or "other" form of representation. The Automobile Labor Board was the exception, with the corresponding percentages 12 per cent, 11.4 per cent, and 76.6 per cent. Of the several reasons given for this striking difference in result the chief is that in the automobile elections the voting was for individuals whose affiliation was not stated, as was pointed out by Dr. Leiserson in an article in *The Nation*.

The Program of Action, the last chapter, is a lucid and vigorous statement of principles and suggestions. "The effective development of collective bargaining presents, we believe, the most immediately pressing problem in the relation of the

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federal government to labor." This approach "should be the keystone of the government's labor policy, in order that there may now be introduced some rough measure of equality into the bargaining power of employers and employees." The creation of a Federal Labor Commission is advocated, "independent of any department of the government." Stress is laid on the desirability of separating all federal mediation and conciliation in labor disputes from the administration of labor law. This may, I think, be questioned, in view of the competent work of the Regional Labor Boards in settling cases, without affecting the development of a body of labor law by the National Board. There is always the danger of mediation's slowing the disposition of the complaints and weakening the position of the unions. But the problem cannot be treated academically, with a rigid theoretic separation. The answer will emerge from experience. I believe that it is an administrative problem rather than a matter of principle. And I have begun to suspect separation of powers!

FRANCIS BIDDLE

An Academic "Disaster"

Myself. By John R. Commons. The Macmillan Company. $3.

SIMULTANEOUSLY, last autumn, there came from the press two books—one big, one little—by the dean of American labor economists, John R. Commons. The big book is called "Institutional Economics." It is full of theories of value, transactions, and "going concerns," but almost empty of institutions. The little book, wholly without institutional pretensions, sets out the development of the institution that is—Commons.

For thirty years Professor Commons has been teaching economics at the University of Wisconsin. Before coming to Wisconsin he had been for relatively short periods on the faculties of Wesleyan, Oberlin, Indiana, and Syracuse. Before that he had been an investigator of labor and industrial conditions for the Civic Federation and the United States Industrial Commission, which he considers to have been "the first governmental agency to bring together a staff of trained economists." "It was," he remarks, "the original 'brain trust.'" Still earlier he had been a teacher in a country school (from which "I had to resign in three months . . . vowing that never again would I teach"); an itinerant vendor of subscriptions to the *Christian Union* ("never a subscription did I take . . . I was a cold, wet failure"); a working printer; a student at Oberlin, from which institution he was graduated in 1888, after what he describes as a "bad" record, "by the indulgence of my professors"; a graduate student at the Johns Hopkins University, where, when he undertook to pinch-hit for Professor Richard T. Ely in his John Stuart Mill course, "the boys floored me and I considered myself a disaster" and where "I failed completely on a history examination . . . and never reached the degree of Ph.D. . . . but [where] I learned a lot about political economy."

Professor Commons was at Wesleyan only one year. "Three months before the year was ended," Commons writes, "President Raymond notified me that I would not be needed the next year, because I was a failure as a teacher." He goes on:

> I determined, on being dismissed from Wesleyan, that I would spring on my students all of my inconsistencies, all of my doubts of economic theory, all of my little schemes for curing economic, political, and sociological disease. Perhaps that would interest them. And it did. Henceforth for more than forty years, they could see that I was not an authority, did not know much of anything, but was getting ideas from them and incorporating their ideas into mine. . . . My subject matter was prosperity and

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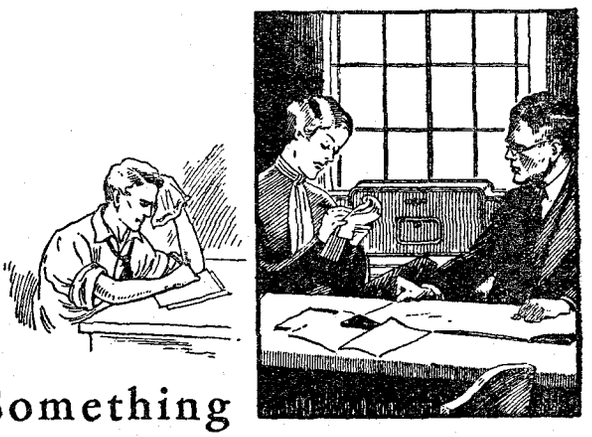

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depression; unions and unemployment; schemes that I was working on at the time; what the business men, farmers, laborers, politicians were doing about it; what the economists' theories would lead them to do; what I would do and you would do; and how we would justify it, if we could.

The candor with which John R. Commons, the recipient of three honorary LL.D. degrees, former member of the Wisconsin Industrial Commission, and of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, former president of the American Economic Association, teacher of college students and of legislators and leader of American labor economists, relates these early episodes is a little disconcerting. One knows that he is over-modest. Yet there is truth in Professor Commons's protestations about his career as a teacher. His genius is not that of rousing the undergraduate "rabble" from the college lecture platform; nor is it precisely that of the Socratic question poser, though it is akin to it. His gift, it seems, is that of an inciting, contagious, and persistent curiosity—a questing eagerness to investigate. Advanced students were his collaborators on the job; students in his classes got, not systematic lectures but, "regardless of logical sequence," the budget of project-items, questions posed, methods of inquiry, progress reports, reviews of findings, and interpretations of results involved in the investigation that happened to be under headway with him at the moment. And one wonders whether this also is not teaching. At any rate this remarkable man without a Ph.D. has been the inciting cause and inspiration of many doctor's dissertations by his younger coworkers; some of these have been nearly as good —and this is saying much—as his own work. To the same man belongs no little share of the credit for the signal record of economic progress that has been achieved in the state of Wisconsin, and for the repercussions of the "Wisconsin idea" throughout the nation. Academic "disasters" like John R. Commons are, unhappily, so rare that we tend to make heroes of them.

P. F. Brissenden

Shorter Notices

Ladies Whose Bright Eyes. By Ford Madox Ford. J. B. Lippincott Company. $2.50.

For obvious reasons, "Ladies Whose Bright Eyes" calls to mind Mark Twain's story of the Connecticut Yankee. It concerns a hard-fisted British publisher who emerges from a twentieth-century train wreck to find himself wandering about the English countryside in the year 1326. The denizens of that century and neighborhood mistake him for a Greek slave coming from the Crusades to the home of his dead master, bearing with him the gold cross of St. Joseph of Arimathea. Since the able-bodied men are absent, fighting either for the Holy Sepulcher or for Queen Isabella in her Scottish wars, the ladies welcome the pilgrim, and, quite literally, take him to their bosoms. Abbesses and noblewomen squabble over the disposition of his cross and person, until at last a tournament of women is fought to decide the question. When his true love wins the tournament, overcoming not only ladies but a full-sized knight, Mr. Sorrell begins to regain consciousness in a hospital where a nurse has the face of his medieval lady. Unlike Mark Twain's classic, Mr. Ford's work does not altogether rely on the comedy of anachronism for its effects, and, indeed, the novel reaches its lowest points when its hero answers medieval French with modern slang. At its best, Mr. Ford's achievement is this: that within the framework of a humorous fable, he has recreated, with erudition and pleasant nicety of detail, the rhythm, the touch, and the smell of fourteenth-century England.

"Nothing Like Leather." By V. S. Pritchett. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

Chronicling the rise of Matthew Burkle from an office boy in a tannery to a war-time profiteer, "Nothing Like Leather" redeems its sluggishness and its occasional affectations by a deep insight into human character and a sensuous warmth of language. Although Pritchett once held a job in a tannery, he seems to have neglected to study its workings from the inside, and is interested less in social than in psychological conflict. Henrietta, whose life is a series of accumulated frustrations, finally blossoms into a womanhood whose sharp edges have been softened down through love. Matthew Burkle, unaware of Henrietta's disappointments, envies her, and in her the ownership of the tannery. Yet he cheats her of sexual fulfilment as he cheats his wife of moral satisfaction. Pritchett has depicted with accuracy and skill Burkle's acquisitiveness, his naive and contradictory gropings into the folds of his own mind. In the end Burkle drowns in a tanning pit, caught in the tannery forever by death, as he was caught in it during life. This conclusion, however fitting, too fitting perhaps, has a ludicrous rather than a pathetic quality. Nevertheless, "Nothing Like Leather" has a resilience and an aliveness generally lacking in the recent English novel.

Low Ceiling. By Lincoln Kirstein. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.

Lincoln Kirstein's poems are highly intellectual. They lack therefore the immediate appeal of sensuous and emotional verse. But because this poet is entirely sincere and technically very expert, his long inner arguments are interesting. His is the position of the aesthete who finds he must accept the transition to a new society. Old values, traditonal literature impede him. Like the younger English poet—by whom, doubtless, he is influenced—he looks toward the communist vision of a new world. He sees, however, the destruction necessary before the vision becomes reality. As a poet he analyzes his own state of mind and the state of the decaying civilization around him. Usually Mr. Kirstein's method is the expansion of a thought or an image into all its intellectual ramifications. Each observation calls up its opposite and its affiliated ideas. In scholarly and critical language he states each predicament the intellectual of today must find himself lodged in. The pros and the cons are all given. The result is that Mr. Kirstein's reader will be more fascinated by the complexity of his mind than by the rarely portrayed emotional drama of his verse.

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